PAIWAN DICTIONARY

by

RALEIGH FERRELL

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PREFACE

This dictionary was made possible by the kindness of many individuals. Ti Sa Tsudjuy i Tjakisuvung, who made me a member of his family during most of my Paiwan fieldwork, was a patient and generous friend as well as expert informant on Paiwan language and traditional culture. A monolingual Paiwan, Tsudjuy's insights into the pervasive influences from 'outside' were sharp and of invaluable help to me in coming to grips with the meaning of being Paiwan in changing conditions. The other members of the Tjakisuvung household also treated me as son or brother, and I am indebted to each of them for untold kindnesses. My full-time young assistant, Ti Sa Ḍungḍung ('Utjung') i Tjakisu- vung, was a cheerful and competent helper without whose enthusiasm and expertise the work would have suffered greatly.

I am most grateful for the patience and helpfulness of Fathers H. Egli, J. de Boer, E. Gassner, J. Guntern, O. Hurni and P. Veil, SMB, throughout my work with the aboriginal cultures and languages of the lower east coast region of Taiwan. While I was with the Paiwan, Father Karl Staehli, SMB, provided so much encouragement and hospitality that by all rights he should be listed as a valued colleague as well as unfailing friend.

The Reverend John Whitehorn, Presbyterian missionary in Pingtung Hsien, was of tremendous help with this dictionary. After I had provided him with a rough draft copy of my *Paiwan Stem Vocabulary* prepared while in the field in 1970, he painstakingly went through the entire document and furnished me with an extensive list of corrections and additions based upon his own many years' experience with the language. I was able subsequently to check many of these suggestions with my Kuḷaḷau informants, and recovered much valuable data with these leads. Although Mr. Whitehorn's work was with other dialects, I have included substantial portions of his data in this dictionary--suitably noted-- and his influence will be observed on nearly every page. I must accept personal responsibility for errors or misunderstandings of his work appearing in these pages.

Acknowledgement is owed to the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, France, under whose auspices I carried out ethnographic and linguistic fieldwork in Taiwan in 1968-1970. Special thanks are due to two of my mentors, Professors André-G. Haudricourt and Georges Condominas. The excellent

guidance and personal friendship of both these eminent scholars has been a source of pride and encouragement to me.

Thanks go to the U.S. National Science Foundation for grants #GS-28818 and #BNS72-05374, for fieldwork in Taiwan in the summers of 1971 and 1972. Throughout these periods in the field, as well as in 1964-1966, the hospitality of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, under the direction of my esteemed friend and benefactor Dr. Ling Shun-sheng, afforded me both the opportunity of valuable interaction with Chinese colleagues and of obtaining the necessary governmental and police permits required for working in the mountain areas.

Finally, I wish to thank Washington State University for awarding me professional leave during the 1976-1977 academic year so that I might prepare this dictionary and companion volume of Paiwan linguistic texts for press.

This dictionary can make no claim to completeness. Without doubt many roots in this dialect of Paiwan have not been brought to light in the period of research which this work represents. Furthermore, English glosses given her may sometimes fail to capture the essential, underlying significance of a Paiwan stem; or, too narrow a portion of the full semantic content range of an item may be given. For these shortcomings please accept my sincere apologies. I will gratefully receive additions, corrections and suggestions.

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PLAN AND ABBREVIATIONS

Entries in the Paiwan-English dictionary are under word roots. Certain putative roots are attested only in frozen, complex forms; e.g., in Kuɬaɬáu dialect a possible root *kaɬay is found only in the complex form parakaɬay 'priest.' To make it easier to locate forms in this dictionary, extensive cross-listing will be found. Thus, parakaɬay may be retrieved by consulting either the (possible) root kaɬay or the full form parakaɬay.

Cross-listing for the sake of convenience is also used in cases such as that of valanga 'mortar,' which may be found listed under three separate entries: (1) langa (as if the form were derived from a root *langa with prefixed va-); (2) vanga (as if the form were derived from a root *vanga with infixed /al/); (3) valanga (as a frozen complex form or a trisyllabic root). Scholars of comparative Austronesian linguistics will recognize that such cross-listing is not meant to imply that each of these multiple entries represents a viable productive root in Paiwan.

Where the English gloss is enclosed in parentheses, additional information may be found under the separate entry or entries listed following a colon. For example:

kaɬay : parakaɬay (priest)

indicates that additional information will be found under the main entry parakaɬay.

Where the English gloss is not enclosed in parentheses, there is no need to check the separate entry under the complex form since no additional information is available there. Thus:

kazu : sekazu Michelia formosana

indicates that there is no need to check further under the separate entry sekazu, since no additional information is to be found there.

Forms marked '(onom.)' were recognized by informants themselves as being onomatopoeic in origin. Forms so marked obviously do not exhaust the number of Paiwan stems actually of onomatopoeic origin.

'(sp.)' indicates a specific type (of basket, for example), or a particular species of plant or animal.

All noun stems in Paiwan may be inflected and used as verb stems, and I have not found it necessary to so gloss each one in this dictionary. Verbs derived from noun stems are then listed separately under the respective noun stems.

Loan words in Paiwan are indicated as to source, as follows:

    (Jap.) from Japanese

    (Jap.-Eng.) from English, through Japanese

    (Min.) Minnanese (Fukienese) Chinese

All unmarked entries in the Paiwan-English dictionary were elicited and checked by myself in the Kulalao [kuɬaɬáu] dialect. Other sources are shown as:

  W (western Paiwan forms; supplied by Reverend John Whitehorn)

  OD (forms from dialects other than Kulalao or as reported from W; some of these also were furnished by Mr. Whitehorn)

  Q (southern Paiwan forms, especially from Tjua-qatsiɬay, as reported by Ogawa)

  T (Tjuabar dialect)

It is possible that some of the forms variously marked W, OD and Q in this dictionary may well be found in Kulalao dialect as well. However, since I have been unable to return to the Paiwan area and to verify these in the field, I have deemed it advisable to mark them as indicated above.

The English-Paiwan lexicon is an abridged index to the Paiwan-English dictionary. The appropriate listing in the Paiwan-English dictionary should be consulted for more accurate understanding of each Paiwan item in the English-Paiwan lexicon.

PAIWAN DICTIONARY

Raleigh Ferrell

1. <u>The Paiwan Language</u>. Paiwan is one of 16 Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan (Formosa) today. The Formosan aboriginal languages are characterized by a remarkable divergence among themselves whether considered from the point of view of phonology, syntax or lexicon.

Phonologically, all of the Formosan languages including Paiwan show extensive mergers and splits in their reflexes of putative Proto-Austronesian (PAN) resonant and lateral phonemes; but Paiwan is unique in that it does not show such extensive mergers and splits also among PAN stops, as do all the other Formosan languages (Ferrell 1976a). Paiwan is the only Formosan language having a phoneme inventory directly comparable to the PAN inventory proposed by Dempwolff and ememded by Dahl (1973:101). Morphologically, Paiwan features a very large number of productive derivational morphemes ("affixes"), the use of which may be seen in this dictionary. The apparently conservative tendence of Paiwan in this regard lends it additional importance in comparative Austronesian studies.

The name *Paiwan*, used today by the speakers of this language as well as by outside observers, appears to be derived from an old village name. The latter, known now as (Sə-)Paiwan, appears in 17th-century Dutch documents as *Paghiwangh* or *Pachiwan*, and the appellation of the Paiwan by the Amis and other aboriginal groups as *pariwan*, leads us to surmise that this name may have been earlier pronounced, e.g., [payiwan] by the Paiwan as well. It is possible that this word may be derived from what is pronounced [parivan] in Kuɬaɬáu dialect, referring to a type of high-altitude plant used in making decorative head-wreaths. The extension of the name 'Paiwan' to designate this language is no doubt recent. The northern Paiwan also refer to themselves as <u>ka-tsalisi-an</u> 'mountain-slope dwellers,' but this latter term is also used to include the neighboring Rukai in Japanese studies. For cultural reasons which do not

coincide at all with the linguistic facts, the name *Paiwan* is sometimes used by scholars to include Paiwan, Rukai and Puyuma; fortunately, this misleading practice is falling into disuse. Chinese documents dating from the 17th to the 19th centuries refer to some of the Paiwan as *ka-li hwan* 'Kali savages' (Mandarin *k'uei-lei fan*). This latter term may be derived from Paiwan <u>qali</u> 'friends, comrades.'

1.1. <u>Location and Speakers</u>. Paiwan's estimated 55,000 speakers place it second among the Austronesian languages of Taiwan, following only Amis which has over 100,000 speakers. Atayal, including both Squliq and Tsi'uli dialects, follows with some 45,000 speakers. Bunun has some 35,000 and (Atayalic) Sediq 20,000. The remaining aboriginal languages range in numbers of speakers from some 8,000 down to fewer than 100 each. For comparison with the present number of speakers of Paiwan, a Japanese census of 1931 showed 30,100 Paiwan living in 166 villages (Mabuchi 1966:130).

The Paiwan occupy an area roughly 80 by 50 km in the mountains and foot-hills of Pingtung and Taitung counties, southern Taiwan. The high interior mountains in the northern part of their territory are considered by many Paiwan to represent their place of origin, and villages found today in that area are the ones which commonly figure in origin myths and oral literature. In this northern sector of their territory the Paiwan villages were traditionally perched on the steep slopes of the central mountain chain, whereas in the east and south, where the hills extend down to the sea, Paiwan villages were and are now found on the coast as well as along the narrow interior valleys of the numerous streams which spill down from the central mountains.

In all areas the Paiwan are swidden horticulturalists whose principal crops include both grains (millet, chenopodium) and tubers (taro, yam, sweet potato). Paiwan villages are exceptionally large and compact compared with those of other groups occupying similar ecological zones and practicing swidden farming. Several villages shown in Dutch census surveys of A.D. 1650 are still extant and have maintained stable populations of 700 to 900 persons for more tha three centuries. The largest Paiwan village, 'Kulalao,' [kuɬaɬáu], had over 1600 inhabitants before the Japanese government forced the villagers to disperse in the 1930's.

Traditionally for the Paiwan, as well as the other aboriginal ethnic groups of Taiwan, headhunting was both an important part of every man's search for prestige and proving himself worthy of marriage, and a religious obligation.

The Japanese brought the practice more-or-less effectively under control in the 1930's. Today the majority of the Paiwan are adherents of various Christian denominations, following intensive missionary efforts since the 1950's.

1.2. <u>Language Contact and Loans</u>. For centuries the Paiwan have been in contact with speakers of other Austronesian languages such as Rukai and Puyuma to the north. To the west the Paiwan were in contact with Siraya and Makatao until these two aboriginal languages became extinct in the last century; today the contact in this area is with Chinese speaking "Taiwanese" (Minnanese) or Hakka dialects. On the east coast and in the south are some scattered Amis settlements, some probably at least a couple of centuries old. The Chinese National Language (Kuoyü or Mandarin) is the sole language of instruction in the primary schools now established in nearly all aboriginal villages, and today most Paiwan under middle age are to a greater or lesser extent bilingual. A substantial minority of middle-aged or older Paiwan can communicate in Japanese. I have met few Paiwan who can speak another aboriginal language although, conversely, a working knowledge of Paiwan is not too uncommon among native Amis, Puyuma and Rukai speakers living in areas adjacent to Paiwan settlements.

As a result of extensive trade over some 300 years, a considerable number of Minnanese Chinese terms have been completely naturalized in Paiwan. These loans refer primarily to trade items such as utensils, pots, and dress, and are included in this dictionary wherever monolingual Paiwan would not generally recognize their foreign origins.

The Paiwan only came under effective outside control during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan (1895-1945), and this fact is reflected in the large number of terms borrowed from Japanese, particularly in the fields of military, police and administrative organization and activities. Furthermore, Japanese was widely used as a contact language for missionary work after World War II, and many terms having to do with church or proselytizing came to be used in Paiwan. However, although many Japanese terms continue to be used by mono-lingual Paiwan speakers, the latter are generally quite aware that these terms are borrowings from Japanese; no attempt has been made to be exhaustive in their inclusion in this dictionary. Since Kuoyü-Chinese has replaced Japanese as the official contact language for government, education and missionary activity, Chinese terms are now beginning to replace Japanese loans in Paiwan.

Japanese scholars made some studies of Paiwan (Ogawa 1931; Ogawa and Asai 1935), but no effort was made to develop literacy materials in Paiwan until the arrival of Catholic and Protestant Christian missionaries after World War II. Since that time missionaries with linguistic training, notably the Reverend John Whitehorn with the English Presbyterian mission in Pingtung, have produced a Paiwan translation of the New Testament. In the early 1950's the Nationalist Chinese government proscribed the use of the Roman alphabet for tribal literacy work, and the missionaries have used a script based on the Chinese *bo-po-mo-fo* or 'national phonetic alphabet' with special adaptations necessary for sounds not found in Chinese. In recent years one aboriginal group, the Amis, have been reclassified officially from a 'high-mountain tribe' to whom access is controlle to a 'plains tribe,' and it is now permissible to use the Roman alphabet in printing Amis-language materials. But thus far the interdiction still holds for the Paiwan who live in areas officially designated as 'mountain' regions. Paiwan literacy in their own language is quite limited.

1.3. <u>Dialects</u>. Paiwan speakers from all areas communicate among themselves easily, despite regional variations in pronunciation, syntax and vocabulary. Paiwan forms a discreet entity in that there are no other Formosan languages wit which anything remotely approaching mutual intelligibility is found.

Phonologically, Paiwan dialect divisions involve notably differences in realizations of the voiceless velar, post-velar and laryngeal stops /k q ?/, anc of sonorants corresponding to /r ɖ ḻ/ of Kuɬaɬau dialect. Roughly speaking, central and southern Paiwan villages tend to form a loose grouping, opposed to an even more heterogeneous grouping of northern and eastern villages. Figure 1 (page 6) shows some major villages with dialect affinities indicated according to the following distinctions:

	Village						Common Designation in Ethnographic Literature
A1	Kuɬaɬau	q	k	ḻ	r	ḍ	*Kulalao*
	Kapaiwanan	q	k	ḻ	r	ḍ	*Su-Paiwan*
	Tjuaqatsiɬay	q	k	ḻ	r	ḍ	*Kachirai*
A2	Ɬarəkrək	q	k	ɣ/ḻ	ʁ	r	*Riki-riki*
	Patjavaɬ	q	k	ɣ/ḻ	ʁ	r	*Ta-niao-wan*
B1	Tjukuvuɬ	?	k	ḻ	r	ḍ	*Tokubun*
	Kaviangan	?	k	ḻ	r	ḍ	*Kapiyan*

B2	Tjaɬakavus	?	?/k	ḻ	r	ḍ	*Chalaabus, Lai-yi*
	Makazayazaya	?	?/k	ḻ	r	ḍ	*Ma-chia*
B3	Tjariḍik	?	?/k	ɣ	ʁ	r	*Charilik*
B4	Tjavuaɬi	q	?	ḻ	r	ḍ	*Taimali*
	Tjakuvukuvuɬ	q	?	ḻ	r	ḍ	*Naibon, Chaoboobol*

Examples from three representative dialects, showing treatment of /k q ?/ are:

Kuɬaɬau	Tjavuaɬi	Tjaɬakavus	
/?/	[?]	[?]	
?ə?ə	?ə?ə	?ə?ə	'no!'
/q/	[q]	[?]	
qadid	qadid	?adid	'bitter'
quma	quma	?uma	'field'
vaqu	vaqu	va?u	'millet'
naŋuaq	naŋuaq	naŋua?	'good'
umaq	umaq	uma?	'house'
/k/	/k/	/k/	
kəḍi	kəḍi	kəḍi	'little'
kuka	vuyu	kuka	'chicken'
m-əkəɬ	m-əkəɬ	m-əkəɬ	'run'
iku	iku	iku	'tail'
/k/	[?]	[?]	
kasiw	?asiw	?asiβ	'tree'
kaɬat	?aɬat	?aɬat	'bracelet'
nəka	nə?a	nə?a	'none'
tɣamaku	tɣama?u	tɣama?u	'tobacco/cigarette'
vaik	vai?	vai?	'leave'
aɬak	aɬa?	aɬa?	'child'

A full dialectology of Paiwan, as for the other Formosan languages, remains to be done. From the comparative point of view very interesting phonological differences among Paiwan village dialects involve such segments as those reflecting Proto-Formosan */gɣ/; e.g., */biɡɣuatɣ/, Kuɬaɬau /viduat/, other Paiwan dialects /viguat/ 'ribs.'

The Kulalao (Kuɬaɬau, [kuɬaɬáu]) dialect is the base for this dictionary. Since the dispersal of Kulalao village in the 1930's, speakers of this dialect

are found not only in "New Kulalao" (Ku-lou Ts'un, Pingtung County), but also in several other Paiwan areas. Of the various regional dialects of Paiwan, the Kulalao dialect is one of the most readily intelligible in all parts of the Paiwan country. This is due not only to the geographically central location of Kulalao village, but also to the fact that this dialect appears to preserve clearly certain phonemic distinctions which have been merged in some other dialects. The Kulalao dialect is also the dominant speech in Tjuabar Village, Taitung County, where I lived in 1969 and 1970. Tjuabar, with a population of over 800, is also the home of speakers of two other dialects: Tjaridik and 'Tjuabar' (the latter closely related to the dialect of Tjavuałi).
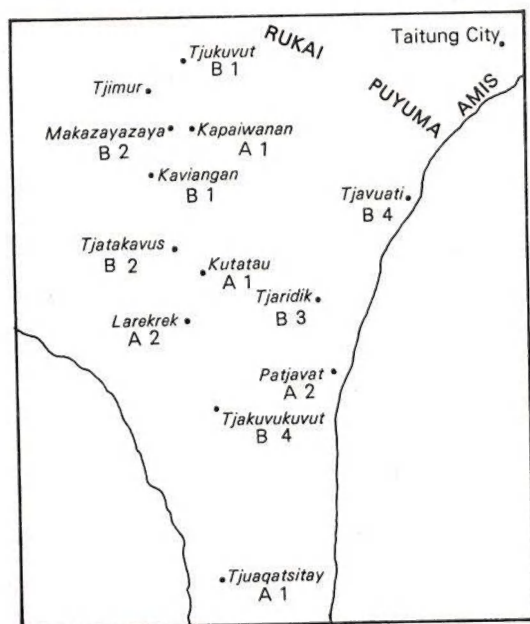
Figure 1

Major Paiwan dialect areas

2. Phonology.

2.1. Segmental Phonemes.

The segmental phonemes of Kułałau dialect are:

Consonants:

	Labial	Dental/Alveolar	Palatal	Post-Palatal	Velar	Post-Velar	Laryngeal
Stops	p	t	tj	ts	k	q	?
	b	d	dj	ḍ	g		
				s			(h)
Continuants	v			z			
		r	ł	l			
	m	n			ng		
	w		y				

Vowels:

    i   u

      e

      a

/tj/, /dj/ are palatalized [tʸ], [dʸ].

/ł/ is a voiced lateral, palatalized by some before all vowels, by others before /i/ only; some speakers devoice /ł/ in final position.

/s/, /z/, /ts/ are palatalized preceding /i/: [š], [ž], [tš].

The post-palatal segments, especially /ḍ/ and /l/, are retroflex segments: the tongue is retracted to the velum in articulation. /l/ is a voiced lateral flap [ɾ].

/r/ is trilled or, in rapid speech, flapped.

/h/ is found in this dialect only in loan words, e.g., /haya/ 'taxi' (Japanese).

/q/ is a voiceless post-velar plosive.

/?/ (phonemic glottal stop) is rare but does occur in this dialect, e.g., /?i?i/ '(juvenile feminine name).'

/e/ is the mid vowel [ə].

/i/, /u/, /e/ are lowered respectively to [e], [o], [ʌ] when adjacent to /q/, /r/, /s/, /z/ by some speakers.

Vowel sequences always constitute two syllables; e.g., /qau/ [qá.u] 'bamboo,' /tjiał/ [tʸí.ał] 'belly.' Note the phonemic contrast of /u/ and /i/ with /w/ and /y/ in 2.3 and 2.4, below.

2.2. <u>Mimimal Pairs</u>. Examples of minimal pairs attesting to the segmental pho-
neme distinctions of Paiwan are:

/i/ ≠ /u/			/i/ ≠ /a/	
ita	'one'		iku	'tail'
uta	'also'		aku	'why?'

/i/ ≠ /e/			/u/ ≠ /e/	
?i?i	'(girl's name)'		quɬung	'color'
?e?e	'no!'		qeɬung	'bundle (of rattan)'

/u/ ≠ /a/			/a/ ≠ /e/	
pungats	'fallen tree'		djakap	'Schefflera arboricola'
pangats	'wasp'		djekap	'footprint'

/p/ ≠ /b/			/p/ ≠ /v/	
pipi	'(man's name)'		puk	'Cajanus Cajan'
bibi	'duck, goose'		vuk	'rotten meat'

/b/ ≠ /v/			/t/ ≠ /d/	
buka	'(man's name)'		t/m/utu	'suckle'
vuka	'digging stick'		d/m/udu	'to anger'

/t/ ≠ /tj/			/tj/ ≠ /ts/	
t/m/alaw	'dip water'		tjelu	'three'
tj/m/alaw	'cause anger'		tselu	'to extract tooth'

/t/ ≠ /tj/ ≠ /s/ ≠ /ḍ/			/d/ ≠ /ḍ/	
qerit	'bird (sp.)'		qaḍaw	'sun'
qeritj	'make sound of munching'		qaḍaw	'mother-of-pearl'
qeris	'prick, scratch'			
qeriḍ	'pig skin'			

/d/ ≠ /dj/			/ts/ ≠ /s/	
dadasan	'turban ornament'		tsusu	'cord for stringing (beads)'
djadjasan	'grasp in hand [RF]'		susu	'something fulfilled'

/s/ ≠ /z/			/k/ ≠ /g/	
kuskusan	'scratch it!'		karang	'lynx'
kuzkuzan	'heel'		garang	'water faucet'

/k/ ≠ /q/			/q/ ≠ /g/	
puk	'Cajanus Cajan'		quris	'scouring material'
puq	'limestone'		guris	'spot, pattern'

/ɬ/ ≠ /l/			/ɬ/ ≠ /r/	
aɬu	'honey'		ɬaketj	'button'
alu	'eight'		raketj	'do all day long'

/r/ ≠ /l/			/r/ ≠ /ḍ/	
riḍariḍ	'a saw'		rawraw	'to rinse'
liḍaliḍ	'tongue'		ḍawḍaw	'ignore, leave behind'

/n/ ≠ /ng/			/m/ ≠ /n/	
nasa	'perhaps'		ma-	'(stative verb or adjective)'
ngasa	'interstice'		na	'(perfective particle)'

2.3. <u>Stress</u>. The unit of stress is the Phrase (Noun Phrase, Verb Phrase, or
Adverbial Phrase; see 3.3), whether this consists of a single morpheme, complex
word, or complex phrase. Stress involves an increase in intensity of the
stressed vowel, which is always the penultimate vowel in the Phrase. Unstressed
vowels are unaffected qualitatively. In a normal utterance there is no second-
ary stress within the Phrase:

/tsiqaw/ 'fish' [cí.qau]

/sikau/ 'net-bag' [ši.ká.u]

/vaik/ '(someone) is leaving' [vá.ik]

/vai-vaik-anga/ '(someone) is just leaving' [va.i.va.i.ká.nga]

/vaik-anga-ken/ 'I am really leaving' [va.i.ka.ngá.kən]

/tsautsau/ 'person' [ca.u.cá.u]

/nua tsautsau-anga/ '(it) still is a person's' [nu.a.ca¡u.ca.u.á.nga]

Imperatives normally keep the stress upon the penultimate vowel, but stress
may be shifted to the ultima in case of impatience or anger:

/kan-u/ 'eat!' [kánu]

/kan-u/ 'now eat!' [kanú]

Only intonation differentiates a declarative from an interrogative or dubitative
utterance:

      vaik-anga   '(he) is going'

      vaik-anga   'is (he) going?'

There are a very few words in Paiwan which appear to violate the rule of penul-
timate stress; however, these words are nearly all monosyllabic stems which
represent earlier bisyllabic forms, e.g., /kán/ 'eat' (<*kaen), /gáng/ 'crab,'
/-tsún/ 'look, see.' Thus, /ma-kan/ 'become eaten' [ma.kán], /pa-tsun/ 'look'
[pa.cún]. Although these reduced forms act like two-vowel sequences for
purposes of determining stress, the vowels are not lengthened, just stressed.

2.4. <u>Morphophonemics</u>. Morphophonemic alternations involving allophonic variants of segmental phonemes are very limited in Paiwan. The segments in question are the consonants /w/ and /m/ (the latter only when it functions as Agent Focus infix); and the schwa vowel /e/ (only when Object suffix /-en/ follows vowels.) In morpheme-final position /w/ becomes /v/ when the morpheme undergoes suffixation:

/tsiqaw/ 'fish,' /pu-tsiqav-an/ 'container for fish'

/qadaw/ 'sun,' /pa-qadav-an/ 'dry (something) in sun'

The Agent Focus infix /m/ (see 4.1), which is infixed immediately following the initial consonant of a verb, undergoes dissimilation, becoming /n/ following a labial segments:

/kan/ 'eat,' /kman/ 'eat [AF]'

/piliq/ 'choose,' /pniliq/ 'choose [AF]'

The Object Focus /en/ becomes /in/ when suffixed to a morpheme of which the final segment is a vowel:

/vuɬuq/ 'throw,' /vuɬuq-en/ 'throw [OF]'

/kan/ 'eat,' /kan-en/ 'eat [OF]'

/aya/ 'say,' /aya-in/ 'say [OF]'

/djedje/ 'do every day,' /djedje-in/ 'do every day [OF]'

/veli/ 'buy,' /velí-n/ 'buy [OF]' (from *veli-in)

/apu/ 'chew betel,' /apu-in/ 'chew betel [OF]'

As noted in the case of /veli/ above, when the suffix /-in/ follows /i/, the two /i/'s are reduced to a single segment, which bears the word-stress; the segment is not, however, lengthened. Analogously, when the suffix /-an/ follows /a/, a single stressed--but not lengthened--vowel segment results:

/aya/ 'say,' /ayá-n/ 'say [RF]' (from *aya-an)

Whenever two identical vowels occur contiguously otherwise in discourse they may or may not be reduced to a single segment, according to the preference of the speaker or the rapidity of the utterance. In such cases, if the vowels are not articulated separately a lengthened vowel does result; however, in rapid speech, this lengthening may in turn be lost:

/qatsa a vatu/ '(a) large dog' [qáca?avátu] ~ [qaca.avátu] ~ [qaca·vátu] ~
[qacavátu]

Gemination of consonants does not occur except as a result of verb affixation in which the Agent Focus infix /m/ (~/n/) occurs in a verb base of which the second consonant is identical to the infix. Such cases result from the

single exception to the rule that the AF infix is inserted immediately following the first consonant: if the first vowel in the verb base is /e/ (schwa), the AF infix may be optionally inserted following the first Consonant + Vowel.

/ɬemet/ 'despise;' AF ɬ/m/emet ~ ɬe/m/met

/penetj/ 'decide;' AF p/n/enetj ~ pe/n/netj

Except for cases such as the above resulting from AF infixation, consonant clusters within the same syllable do not occur. Where 'clusters' do occur across syllable boundaries (usually as the result of reduplicated roots), a non-phonemic /e/ may be inserted optionally and the same individual may pronounce, for example, /gemgem/ 'fist' either as [gə́mgəm] or as [gəmə́gəm]. Note that when this optional schwa is inserted, where appropriate it receives word-stress.

3. <u>Morphology and Phrase Structures</u>.

3.1. <u>Morpheme, Word and Phrase Classes</u>. Paiwan morphemes may be either free (independent) or bound-forms (non-independent); independent morphemes can be used by themselves as complete words or utterances, whereas bound-forms must be used in combination with other morphemes. Words by definition are independent forms and may either be single independent morphems, or comprised of combinations of independent and bound-form morphemes. Phrases in turn may consist of single words, or of words plus non-independent morphemes such as Construction Markers.

3.1.1. <u>Independent Morphemes</u>. Independent morphemes fall into four main classes: primary nouns, primary verb stems, primary stative verb stems, and interjections.

3.1.1.1. <u>Primary Nouns</u>. These are simple morphemes, i.e., they cannot be segmented into simpler components:

<u>sapuy</u> 'fire'

<u>dail</u> 'monkey'

<u>quma</u> 'field'

Note that all nouns in Paiwan can also be used as verb stems:

<u>s/m/apuy</u> 'use fire [AF]'

<u>d/m/ail</u> '(monkeys) raid crops [AF]'

<u>q/m/uma</u> 'construct fields [AF]'

3.1.1.2. <u>Primary Verb Stems</u>. These generally cannot be used as independent utterances as can primary nouns, though in some cases uninflected primary verb stems may be used in subordinate clauses (see 3.3.2).

kan 'eat,' k/m/an 'eat [AF]'

qałup 'hunt,' q/m/ałup 'hunt [AF]'

vułuq 'throw at,' v/n/ułuq 'throw at [AF]'

3.1.1.3. Primary Stative Verbs. A restricted number of independent morphemes
exist which are used as stative verbs (or 'adjectives') without inflection;
examples are:

qatsa 'be large, big'

keḍi 'be little, small'

qudjił 'be red'

3.1.1.4. Interjections. The most common Paiwan interjections are:

ui 'yes'

ini 'no' (not do)

neka 'no, not' (not exist)

ai 'oh!' (surprise, wonder)

ai divá 'alas!'

uá 'oh!' (surprise, taken aback)

uá ḍaḍá 'ouch!' (pain)

3.1.2. Non-independent Morphemes. Five main classes of bound morphemes in
Paiwan are: Construction Markers (CM); the intensifiers -anga, -angata, -anan,
ła; adverbials; personal pronouns; and derivational morphemes ('affixes').

3.1.2.1. Construction Markers. Noun Phrases (NP) in Paiwan are introduced by
relational particles or Construction Markers (CM). Paiwan has three of these
particles:

a   showing equational relationship (CM=)

nua   showing genitive/partitive relationship (CMgen)

tua   showing that the relationship is neither equational nor genitive (CM≠).

These CM's are syntactic markers linking phrases, and are not agreement markers
CM's simply identify which NP's fill certain syntactic slots in the sentence,
without giving any indication of the semantic nature of the slot or of the NP
filling the slot (as they would, e.g., if they were 'case markers' as they are
sometimes erroneously called).

The relationship between Verb Phrases (VP) and NP's can be either equation
al, genitive/partitive, or non-equational. The relationship between NP and NP
can only be equational or genitive/partitive:

ałak	a	vavaian	
child	CM=	female	'female child' ~ 'immature female' ~ 'the child is female' ~ 'the female is a child' ~ 'the child who is female' ~ 'the female who is a child'
ałak	nua	vavaian	'the woman's child' ~ 'the child belongs to the woman'
child	CMgen	female	

Paiwan does not permit direct N + N compounding. In genitive constructions,
when NP's are preposed for emphasis the equational CM= is required before the
second NP, in effect equating the appositional NP with the genitive NP (CMgen +
N):

nua	vavaian	a	ałak	'the woman's child' ~ 'the child belongs to the
CMgen	female	CM=	child	woman' ~ 'the child who belongs to the woman.'

There is a separate set of CM's used with names of individuals, or with kin
terms used as terms of address, or with personal pronouns:

	Singular	*Plural*
CM=	ti	tia
CMgen	ni	nia
CM≠	tjai	tjaia

3.1.2.2. -anga, -angata, -anan, ła. These four non-independent morphemes are
not derivational but rather qualify the morphemes to which they are attached.
The first three are clitics and affect stress in the Phrase, whereas ła does
not. All four can be used with various types of words or Phrases. Basic
meanings are:

-anga 'certainly,' 'truly doing'

-angata 'definitely' (emphatic)

-anan 'still, yet, continuing to'

ła (emphasis, setting apart)

Examples are:

k/m/an-anga 'is truly eating' [kəmanáŋa]

ti-aken-anga 'it is truly I' [tiakənáŋa]

k/m/an-anga-ken 'I am truly eating' [kəmanaŋákən]

tsautsau-angata 'it is definitely a person!' [caucauaŋáta]

ui-angata 'definitely, yes!' [uiaŋáta]

ui ła 'yes!' [úi ła]

m-aya ła 'don't!' [máya ła]

ti-aken ła '(it is) I!' [tiákən ła]

3.1.2.3. <u>Adverbials</u>. There is a restricted category of adverbial morphemes which occur only with derivational affixes. Examples are:

-tiaw : <u>nu-tiaw</u> 'tomorrow'

<u>ka-tiaw</u> 'yesterday'

-sawni : <u>nu-sawni</u> 'soon, in a little while (future)'

<u>ka-sawni</u> 'a little while ago'

-ngida : <u>nu-ngida</u> 'when? (in future)'

<u>ka-ngida</u> 'when? (in past)'

3.1.2.4. <u>Personal Pronouns</u>. The following table shows both bound-form and independent personal pronouns. It will be noted that the independent pronouns are combinations of the bound-form pronouns and the personal CM's presented in 3.1.2.1. above. There are no third person bound-form pronouns.

	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
Equational			
singular	-aken, ti-aken	-sun, ti-sun	ti-madju
plural	-itjen, ti-tjen (incl.) -amen, ti-amen (excl.)	-mun, ti-mun	ti-a-madju
Genitive			
singular	ku-, ni-aken	su-, ni-sun	ni-madju
plural	tja-, ni-tjen (incl.) nia-, ni-amen (excl.)	nu-, ni-mun	ni-a-madju
Non-Eq/Gen			
singular	tjanu-aken	tjanu-sun	tjai-madju
plural	tjanu-itjen (inc.) tjanu-amen (excl.)	tjanu-mun	tjai-a-madju

3.2. <u>Derivational Processes</u>. Paiwan is characterized by a richness of highly productive derivational morphemes, as well as having a number of apparently 'frozen' (non-productive) ones. Derivation is theoretically limitless in Paiwan. For instance, by adding the complex pu- + -an to the noun stem <u>załum</u> 'water' we obtain <u>pu-załum-an</u> 'water container.' To this may be added other morphemes such as, e.g., <u>san-</u> which transforms the complex N into a V which in turn must be inflected for Focus. As an example, using the AF infix /<u>m</u>/ we find <u>s/m/an-pu-załum-an</u> 'construct water containers [AF].' We might further add a prefix such as <u>ru-</u>, giving <u>ru-san-pu-załum-an</u> 'a specialist in making water containers'--and so on.

3.2.1. <u>Derivational Morphemes ("Affixes")</u>. In this list and subsequent examples forms preceded by an asterisk (*) do not appear to be productive any longer in Kulalao dialect, but are listed here because they may still be productive in other dialects. This list may serve as an index to the order in which attestations of the various derivational morphemes will be given in the pages immediately following.

Infixes   page

*/a/	16	mare-ka-	21	si-2	
*/ał/		małe-		ma-si-	
*/al/		me-		su-1	
*/ar/1		mere-		su-2	
*/ar/2		mi-		ki-su-	
/m/	17	mi-+-an		ta-	
/in/		*miN-		tu-(matu-)	
		mu-		ma-ru-	
Suffixes		na		tja-1	
		ka-na-	22	tja-2	26
-an		nu1		ki-tja-	
-en		nu2		tjała-+-an	
(-in)		pa-		tjara-	
-aw		pe-		tjału-	
-ay		pi-		tjari-	
-u		pu-		tja-u-	
-i		pu-+-an		tje-	
-ł		ma-pu-	23	ka-tje-+-an	
		*qa-		*tji-	
Prefixes		*qe-		tji-a-	27
		*qułi-		tju-1	
dja-		*quli-		tju-2	
dje	18	*qałi-		uri	
*djułi-		*kali-		m-uri	
i		*qali-		*va-	
iru		ra-		*vułi-	
ka-1		r/m/a-		*vuli-	
ka-2		r/m/a-+-an			
ka-+-an		sa1			
kała-+-an	19	sa2			
ma-ka-		pa-sa-1			
pa-ka-		pa-sa-2	24		
ka-si-		sa3			
kene-		ki-sa-			
ki-		na-sa-			
ku-1		san(e)-			
ku-2		ki-san(e)-			
ła-	20	ru-			
ł/m/a-		se-1			
łe-		se-2			
łia-		se-3			
li-		s/ar/e-			
ma-		si-1	25		
mare-					

*/a/ This infix is found in other Formosan languages, e.g., in Pazeh, denoting incipient action: mituɬ 'be standing,' m/a/ituɬ 'stand up.' The status of this morpheme is very problematic in Paiwan, being found in a few frozen forms generally involving apparently reduplicated stems which are atypical in that the first vowel is not identical with the second (these are the only instances in Paiwan in which such vowels are not identical). Note that the 'prefix' tjau- may possibly be analyzable as tj/a/u- (q.v.).

dj/a/ungadjing-an 'cock's comb' (*djungadjing ?)
m/a/udmid 'dry and brittle' (*mudmid ?)

*/aɬ/ ('having sound or quality of; involving use of') [cf. */al/, */ar/]
Usually, but not always, used with onomatopoeic stems:

b/aɬ/angbang 'to have noise as of rain on roof' (bangbang onom.)
k/aɬ/engkeng 'to have ringing in ears' (kengkeng onom.)
s/aɬ/engseng 'to have a throbbing ache' (sengseng-an 'work, tasks')
q/aɬ/emqem 'to be sweet-tasting' (qemqem 'mouth full')
k/aɬ/edjip 'to blink eyes' (kedjip 'eyelash')
k/aɬ/uskus-an 'fingernail, claw' (kuskus 'scraper')

*/al/ ('having sound or quality of; involving use of') [cf. */aɬ/, */ar/]

k/al/ingking 'to have or make a sound like "king"' (kingking onom.)
tj/al/eqtjeq 'to have a clicking noise' (tjeqtjeq onom.)
g/al/emgem 'be furious' (gemgem 'fist')
k/al/atsakats 'walk stiffly' (katsakats 'stilts')
k/al/edjip 'to wink' (kedjip 'eyelash')
s/al/apsap 'to scratch in earth' (sapsap 'to scratch in earth')
s/al/eɬseɬ 'to take pity on' (seɬseɬ 'buzzing' onom.)
t/al/avi 'shelf, rack' (tavi 'niche')
tj/al/uqutjuq 'fat meat' (*tjuqutjuq ?)
t/al/angtang 'be turning light' (*tangtang ?)
v/al/eɬveɬ 'be pretty' (veɬveɬ 'banana')
z/al/angzang 'to perspire' (zangzang 'body heat')

*/ar/₁ ('having sound or quality of; involving use of') [cf. */aɬ/, */al/]

b/ar/engbeng 'make buzzing or humming sound' (bengbeng onom.)
dj/ar/emdjem 'fine mist falls' (djemdjem 'push down')
g/ar/avagav 'to crawl, wriggle' (*gavagav ?)
k/ar/udkud 'to have sound of hoeing' (kudkud 'hoe')
k/ar/uskus 'have sound of scraping' (kuskus 'scraper')
s/ar/apsap 'grope through' (sapsap 'scratch in earth')
s/ar/eɬseɬ 'make buzzing sound' (seɬseɬ onom.)

/ar/₂ ('do indiscriminately, on all sides')
Can be used with any verb, by reduplicating initial consonant + a:

k/ar/a-kim 'to search everywhere' (kim 'to search')
dj/ar/a-djulat 'move feet constantly' (djulat 'a pace')
dj/ar/a-djiqes 'splash water on all sides' (djiqes 'splash')
t/ar/a-tekel 'drink "everything in sight"' (tekel 'to drink')
v/ar/a-vutsik 'to cut indiscriminately' (vutsik 'to cut')
v/in/ar/a-vutsik 'something which has been cut indiscriminately' (cf. /in perfective marker)

/m/ (agent or actor) Marks Agent Focus in verb; [becomes /n/ following p b v m; when word begins with vowel, /m/ becomes prefix m-]

q/m/uɬuts (1) 'wrestle [AF];' (2) 'wrestler' (quɬuts 'wrestle')
k/m/an (1) 'eat [AF];' (2) 'eater, one who eats'
p/n/iqay (1) 'to wound [AF];' (2) 'one who wounds' (piqay 'a wound')

/in/ (perfective marker; action already begun or accomplished; object or product of past action) [becomes in- before initial vowels]

k/in/an (1) 'have eaten; have started eating;' (2) 'already-eaten food'
tj/in/enun (1) 'have woven;' (2) 'woven goods' (tjenun 'weave')
in-alap (1) 'have taken;' (2) 'object which has been taken' (alap 'take')
ɬ/in/avia '(place) where miscanthus has taken over' (ɬavia 'miscanthus')
ɬ/in/avek-an 'seaside; seacoast' (ɬavek 'ocean')
p/in/atagiɬ-an 'place of beginning/origin' (pa-tagiɬ 'start, originate')

-an (specific location in time/space; specific one/type; Referent Focus)

kan-an (1) 'eat [RF];' (2) 'place where eating occurs'
pa-gung-an 'barn, place where cows are kept' (gung 'bovine')

-en (object/goal of action; Object Focus) [becomes -in following vowels]

kan-en (1) 'eat [OF];' (2) 'food'
alap-en (1) 'to take [OF];' (2) 'object being taken'

-aw (projected or intended action, Referent Focus)

ku-kan-aw 'I'll eat it [OF]' (ku- 'I, my')
ku-qaɬup-aw 'I'll probably hunt'

-ay (projected or intended action, Referent Focus)

ku-kan-ay 'I'll eat [RF]'
ku-qaɬup-ay 'I'll hunt there [RF]'

-u (Agent Focus in subordinate clauses; most peremptory imperative)

kan-u '(YOU) eat!'
alap-u '(YOU) take!'

-i (Object Focus in subordinate clauses; polite imperative)

kan-i '(please) eat it;' 'let's eat!'
alap-i '(please) take it'

-ɬ (things in sequence; groupings; duration of time)

maka-pida-ɬ 'how many times?,' 'for how long?;' 'which one?'
maka-tjelu-ɬ 'three times,' 'three days;' 'the third one'
tja-uma-ɬ 'do again, differently' (cf. z-uma 'other, different')
tj/m/e-uma-ɬ 'to tell'

*dja- (?)

dja-uɬay 'tree (sp.)' (uɬay 'something broken off inside something else')

(Cf. also djaɬalu 'tree (sp.),' djaɬaqis 'Dodonaea viscosa,' djaraɬap 'Ficus retusa,' djaɬakivits 'Fagara nitida,' djalayap 'Citrus depressa,' djamia 'rice-straw,' djameti 'Formosan blue pie,' djaqesip 'animal's fore-leg,' djaqesuɬ 'choke, splutter,' djaruɬiruɬi 'bivalve shell,' djarunuq 'edible tree fungus (sp.);' large number of forms of more than two syllables suggests the probability that dja- is an anciently-fozen prefix.)

*dje- (?)

    dje-łapa 'lay something flat' (łapa 'planing tool')
    dje-łuay 'do rapidly' (cf. la-łuay 'be clear')
    dje-renaw 'mineral discoloration (on rock)' (cf. pa-renaw 'paint')

*djułi- (?)

    djułi-mai 'be gentle (animal)'
    djułi-ngenge 'Pouzolzia elegans'
    djułi-pupung 'execute bead embroidery'

    (Note: number of forms of more than two syllables suggests probability
    that djułi- is an anciently frozen prefix.)

i   *'be at, in (place)'*

    i gadu 'in the mountains'
    i Taihuk 'in Taipei'
    i-Tayki-aken 'I am in Tayki'
    i-likuz 'be behind (when stationary)'
    i-vilił 'be behind (when moving)'

iru   *(definite future negative)* [used with Subjunctive; see 3.3.2.]

    iru kan-i 'definitely will not eat it'

ka-₁   *(used as inchoative marker with some stems)*

    ka-djałav-u 'do it quickly!' (djaław 'quickly, rapid')
    ka-tsiur-i 'let's do it together!' (ma-tsiur 'be together')
    si-ka-taqed 'reason for sleeping' (taqed 'sleep')

    (used pro forma with negative and dubitative constructions)

    ini ka 'does not' (frequently abbreviated to i-ka)
    ini ka k/m/an 'does not eat'
    i-ka k/m/an 'does not eat'
    ka na i-ka 'if not, then . . .'
    ka na i-ka vaik 'if (we) don't go'
    ka na i-ka vaik-sun 'if you don't go'
    ka na i-ka-sun a vaik 'if you don't go'
    i-maza ka na i-ka i-zua '(it is) either here or there'

ka-₂   *(in past)* [free variation with ta-]

    ka-tiaw 'yesterday' (cf. nu-tiaw 'tomorrow')
    ka-ngida 'when (in past)?' (cf. nu-ngida 'when (in future)?'
    ka-tja-i-vilił 'the next time (in past)'
    ka vaik-anga 'when (he) had gone' (cf. nu vaik-anga 'when/if (he) goes
       (in future)'

ka- + -an   *(principal, main; principal or prototypical manifestation of)*

    ka-gung-an 'yellow ("real") cow' (gung 'bovine')
    ka-vasá-n 'real taro (prized variety)'
    k/in/a-tsułu-an 'place where fire or scalding has caused wound' (tsułu
      'burn')
    k/in/a-qati-an 'nature or abilities' (that which has been created)

kała- + -an   *(time/place characterized by something)* (? k/ał/a-, ? ka-ła-)

    kała-qudjał-an 'rainy season' (qudjał 'rain')
    kała-vurati-an 'time/place where there are many sweet potatoes'

ma-ka-   *(go past, via; having finished)*

    maka-pana 'go by way of the river' (pana 'river')
    maka-maza 'go by way of here'

    maka-kán '(when he) had finished eating'
    maka-patsún 'having finished looking'

pa-ka-   *(go/cause to go by way of (place)/conveyance)*

    paka-pana 'cause to go by way of river'
    paka-Tayki 'cause to go via Tayki'
    paka-tsepeng 'cause to go by being carried in a basket'
    paka-paliding 'cause going by cart'

    ('feel to be')

    paka-sanguaq 'feel it to be delicious'
    paka-madjulu 'feel it to be simple'
    paka-saqetju 'feel something to be painful'

ka-si-   *(come from)*

    k/m/asi-pana 'come from the river [AF]'
    k/m/asi-gadu-aken 'I come from the mountains [AF]' (gadu 'mountains')

ken(e)-   *('eat, drink, consume')*

    ken-vawa 'to drink alcoholic beverage'
    kene-paday 'to eat rice'
    kene-tsau 'ant (sp.)' ("person-eater")

ki-   *('get, obtain')*

    ki-vawa 'to get beer,' 'buy alcoholic beverage'
    ki-vasa 'to gather taro'
    ki-paday 'to harvest rice'
    ki-tsiqaw 'to fish'
    ki-sudju 'go courting,' 'look for a sweetheart'

    (do willingly to/for self)

    ki-patsay 'kill oneself, commit suicide'
    ki-paiz 'fan oneself'
    ki-seqas 'to cut oneself'
    ki-pa-patsay 'to get oneself killed'
    ki-pa-patsún 'have oneself looked at (as by doctor)'

ku-₁   *('my;' 'I (as agent of non-AF verb)')*

    ku-kama 'my father'
    ku-kan-en (1) 'my food,' (2) 'I eat [OF]'

*ku-₂ (?)

    (A number of Paiwan forms of more than two syllables suggest the possibility
    that *ku- is an anciently frozen prefix)

    ku-lavaw 'rat, mouse'
    ku-riki 'newly-born crabs'

ła   ('belonging to a given category (especially plant & animal species)')

    ła-tsakaw 'ants (sp.)' (tsakaw 'thief')
    ła-ika-ikaw 'Codonacanthus pauciflorus' (ikaw 'earrings')

    ('belonging to a certain place/village')
    ła Tjuabar 'people of Tjuabar village'
    ła Taihuk 'the people who live in Taipei'

    ('belonging to a certain house')
    ła Tjakisuvung 'the Tjakisuvung household'
    ła Sulingaw 'the members of the Sulingaw household'

    ('to call someone by kin-term')
    ł/m/a-kama 'to call someone father'
    ła-kama-u 'call (me, him) father!'
    ł/m/a-kaka 'to call someone brother (or sister)'

łe-   ('go in direction of')

    łe-zaya 'to climb uphill (as road)'
    łe-lauz 'to descend (go downhill)'
    łe-teku ' to go downward'

łia-   ('(have) come to be in/at')

    łia-zaya 'to be high up on the mountain;' 'be upland'
    łia-dút 'to be near'
    łia-tsadja 'to be far away'
    łia-vavaw 'to be in a high/elevated place'
    łia-zua 'to be way over there'

li-   ('have quality of')

    li-kupu-kupu 'to be cup-shaped' (kupu 'cup' [Jap.-Eng.])
    li-keza-ł 'three-stone fireplace' (cf. tje-keza 'bridge')
    li-ngadja 'small wooden bowl' (cf. tsa-ngadja-ngadja 'snail (sp.)'
    li-tjuku-tjuku 'disc-shaped' (tjuku-tjuku 'a wheel')

ma-   ('be affected by; be in condition of (without own volition)')

    ma-kan 'to be(come) eaten' (kan 'eat')
    ma-tjani 'to fall down'
    ma-sadaw 'to receive a gash wound'
    ma-qudjał 'to be rained upon' (qudjał 'rain')
    ma-qadaw 'to be bothered by the heat of the sun' (qadaw 'the sun')
    ma-lúm 'to become ripened'

mare   ('having reciprocal relationship') [ma-re? m/ar/e?]

    mare-kaka 'siblings' (two persons in a sibling relationship'
    mare-kaka-kaka '(more than two) siblings' (kaka 'sibling')
    mare-tsekeł 'a married couple' (tsekeł 'spouse')
    mare-ałak 'parent and child' (ałak 'child')
    mare-ał(a)-ałak 'parents and children'
    mare-vuvu 'grandparent and grandchild'

mare-ka   ('in same general category')

    mareka-kasiw 'many trees (of different kinds)'
    mareka-q/m/uzi-quzip 'many animals (of all types)'
    mareka-kaka nua vavaian 'siblings of the woman'
    mareka ku-kaka 'my siblings'

małe-   ('number of persons')

    małe-lima 'five persons' (lima 'five')
    małe-ta-puluq 'ten persons' (ta- 'one,' puluq 'unit of ten')
    małe-pida 'how many persons?' (pida 'how much/many?')

me-   (Agent marker for certain verbs, usually involving change of status)

    me-valut 'come (back) to life'
    me-tsuvung 'to meet'

    ('become; turn into')
    me-ngabu 'turn into a frog'
    me-tsautsau 'turn into a human being
    me-qatsa 'to become big')
    me-tjałi-qatsa 'to get bigger'

mere-   ('be gigantic, super-')

    mere-tsautsau 'to be a giant person'
    mere-ałak 'to be an overgrown child'
    mere-kasiw 'to be a huge tree'

mi-   (Agent marker for certain verbs, usually intransitive)

    mi-gatsał 'to stand'
    mi-tsuleq 'to refrain from speaking' (tsuleq 'eardrum')
    mi-nasi 'to breathe' (nasi 'breath/life')
    mi-sepi 'to dream'
    mi-ga-gitseł 'to stand on tiptoe' (cf. gatsał 'stand')

mi- + -an   ('pretend, claim')

    mi-sauqałay-an 'to claim to be a handsome man,' 'brag of being handsome'
    mi-arasi-an 'to be vain/pretentious'
    mi-pu-anema-n 'to brag of one's own wealth'

*miN-   (Agent marker for certain verbs; conditioning for variants not determined)

    mine-perak 'to spread, ooze' (cf. tse-perak 'break to pieces')
    ming-layap 'to fly' (other dialects mi-layap)

mu-   (Agent marker for certain verbs)

    mu-laviq 'to overflow' (cf. pa-pu-laviq 'fill to overflowing')

na   ('already (definitely) done/doing or have become')

    na vaik-anga 'has already left'
    na k/m/an-aken 'I have already eaten [AF]'
    na sa-u-qałay 'be a very handsome man'

ka-na- + -anga *('every')*

    ka-na-tsautsau-anga 'every person'

nu₁ *('of; by; belonging to')* [with personal name or pronoun ni]

    nu-a 'belonging to, of [thing]'
    busi nu-a ma-ma-zangiɬ-an 'the hat of the chief'
    busi ni-madju 'his hat'

nu₂ *('if; when')*

    nu vaik 'if (he) goes'
    nu q/m/udjaɬ 'if it rains'

    (in future)
    nu-tiaw 'tomorrow' (cf. ka-tiaw 'yesterday')
    nu-sawni 'soon, right away (today)'
    nu-ngida 'when (in future)?'
    nu-sitsuayan 'a long time in future'

pa- *('to cause to be/occur')* [Note: does not necessarily involve secondary
                                      agent]

    pa-kán 'to cause eating to occur,' 'feed'
    pa-patsay 'to kill,' 'cause dying to occur'
    pa-qetsi 'to cause cutting/killing' [by oneself, or by someone else]

    ('apply (something) to (something else)')
    pa-tjukap 'to put footwear on someone' (tjukap 'footwear')
    pa-zaɬum 'to irrigate, apply water' (zaɬum 'water')

pe- *('emerge; come into view')*
    pe-ngadjay 'to salivate, drool' (ngadjay 'saliva')
    pe-zaɬum 'water comes out'
    pe-pudek 'the navel comes into view'

pi- *('put in/on; do something to')*

    pi-tsekui 'to put something on the table' (tsekui 'table' [Jap.])
    pi-taladj 'to put something inside'
    pi-lima 'to wash hands'
    pi-kula 'to wash feet'
    pi-ququ 'to wash head'

    ('do at random; at will')
    pi-vaik 'to wander at will, ramble'
    pi-k/m/an 'to eat whatever or whenever one wants'

pu- *('have or produce; acquire')*

    pu-aɬak 'to have children,' 'give birth to a child'
    pu-tsekeɬ 'to marry, acquire a spouse'

pu- + -an *('place where something is put or kept')*

    pu-zaɬum-an 'water container' (zaɬum 'water')
    pu-gung-an 'barn; corral (where cows are kept)' (gung 'bovine')
    pu-hikuki-an 'airport' (hikuki 'airplane' (Jap.))

ma-pu- *('do to exclusion of all else')*

    ma-pu-k/m/án 'do nothing except eat'
    ma-pu-ki-tsiqaw 'do nothing but fish' (tsiqaw 'fish')

*qa- (?)

    qa-pulu 'trunk, stem' (cf. pulu 'haft, handle'); qa-puḏung 'ball' (cf.
    puḏung 'twist grass'); qa-muḏu 'lower abdomen' (cf. puḏu 'swelling/kidney')

*qe- (?) [As with *qa-, large number of trisyllabic forms suggest frozen affix]

    qeɬata 'shield,' qeludu 'provider(?),' qeruɬung 'seashell'

*quɬi- (?)

    quɬipapuduan 'crown of head,' quɬimamadas 'caterpillar (sp.),' quɬimamaraw
    'beetle (sp.),' quɬipepe 'butterfly (sp.),' quɬimezaw 'dizziness,' quɬi-
    vangeraw 'rainbow'

*quḻi- (?)

    quḻivawvaw 'curtain,' quḻipapunu 'crown of head'

*qaɬi- (?)

    qaɬimumudan 'crown of head'

*kali- (?)

    kaliḏunguḏunguɬ 'butterfly'

*qaḻi- (?)

    qaḻiḏudu 'taro (sp.)'

ra- *('having to do with')* [most frequently found in plant and animal names]

    ra-zaɬum 'Taiwan green snake' (zaɬum 'water')
    ra-singiɬ 'lizard (sp.)' (singiɬ 'grain plant stubble')

r/m/a- *('do at/during')*

    r/m/a-selem 'do after dark' (selem 'darkness')
    r/m/a-qadaw 'do in daytime' (qadaw 'sun, day')

r/m/a- + -an *('do at/in')*

    r/m/a-zaɬum-an 'do in/under water'
    r/m/a-teku-an 'do low near ground' (e.g., fly low) (teku 'down, below')
    r/m/a-qadjunangan-an 'do/go on the ground' (qadjunangan 'ground, earth')
    r/m/a-vetsekadan-an 'go through the center' (vetsekadan 'middle, center')

sa-₁ *('wish to')* [cf. with sa (clause-linking particle)]

    sa-vaik 'wish to go'
    sa-t/m/ekel 'wish to drink

sa-₂ *('go to/in direction of')*

    sa-zuá-n 'take it there' (zua 'there')
    s/m/a-pana 'go to the river' (pana 'stream, river')
    s/m/a-inu 'going where?' (inu 'where?')

pa-sa-₁ *('transfer something to')*

    pa-sa-taladj 'put something inside' (taladj 'interior')
    pa-sa-qumaq-an 'put something inside house'

pa-sa-₂ (*'nearly; be on point of doing'*)

  pa-sa-mutjaq 'be on point of vomiting' (m-utjaq 'to vomit')
  pa-sa-matsay 'nearly died; on point of dying') (m-atsay 'die')

sa-₃ (*'have odor/quality/flavor of'*)

  sa-gung 'to smell like a cow'   sa-nguaq 'be delicious' (nguaq 'good')
  sa-m-aḻi 'to feel to be strange'   sa-kuya 'taste bad' (kuya 'bad')

ki-sa- (*'use, utilize, employ'*)

  ki-sa-kizing 'to use spoon(s)' (kizing 'spoon')
  ki-sa-pitsul 'to use strength/force'

na-sa- (*'perhaps; most likely is'*)

  na-sa-vatu 'it is most likely a dog'
  na-sa-tsemas 'perhaps it was a spirit'

san(e)- (*'construct; work on/in'*)

  s/m/an(e)-umaq 'build house(s)'
  s/m/an(e)-quma 'construct or work in fields'
  s/m/an(e)-kava 'make clothes'
  s/in/an(e)-quma 'fields which have been worked'
  s/in/an(e)-kava 'clothes that have been made'

ki-san(e)- (*'become/act as;' 'one who acts as'*)

  ki-san(e)-sivitay 'be(come) a soldier' (sivitay 'soldier' (Jap.))
  ki-san(e)-pulingaw 'be(come) a shaman; one who is a shaman'
  ki-san(e)-paveli 'merchant' (pa-veli 'sell')
  ki-san(e)-k/m/esa 'a cook, one who specializes in cooking' (kesa 'to cook')

ru- (*'do frequently/habitually; have many of'*)

  ru-tsakatsakaw 'habitual thief' (tsakaw 'thief')
  ru-kaikai 'chatterbox; talkative person' (kai 'language, words')
  ru-vaik 'be constantly on-the-go; vagabond' (vaik 'go')
  ru-aḻak 'one who has many children'

se-₁ (*'people of (village/nation)'*)

  se-Tjuabar 'person(s) of/from Tjuabar village'
  se-Amilika 'an American; European(s)'

se-₂ (*'have quality of'*)

  se-nguaq 'good (as land)'
  se-kuya 'bad, unfavorable (as land)'

s/ar/e- (*'be in state/condition of (without own volition)'*)

  s/ar/e-nguaq 'comfortable; find oneself in good situation'
  s/ar/e-kuya 'uncomfortable; find oneself in bad situation'

se-₃ (*'occur suddenly or unexpectedly/unintentionally'*)

  se-djungats 'adhere to accidentally'
  se-kelay 'get caught upon something unexpectedly' (kelay 'hang')

si-₁ (*'be instrument/cause/beneficiary of;' Instrument Focus marker*)

  si-kán (1) 'eating utensil;' (2) 'reason for eating;' (3) 'eat [IF]'
  si-pavai (1) 'gift;' (2) 'give [IF]' (pa-vai 'give')
  si-qunu 'knife' (qunu 'cut')
  si-vetsivetsik 'writing implement' (vetsik 'write, mark, draw')

si-₂ (*'belonging to certain time in past'*)

  si-ngidá-n 'at what time in past?'
  si-tiav-an 'yesterday's' (cf. nu-tiaw 'tomorrow;' ka-tiaw 'yesterday')
  si-tsuay-an 'belonging to ancient times' (tsuay 'long time')
  si-tutsu-an 'belonging to the present time (but already past)' (tutsu 'this')

ma-si- (*'carry, transport'*)

  ma-si-vaqu 'to transport millet (as from fields')
  ma-si-k/in/atsu 'to transport carried-things' (katsu 'carry')
  ma-si-gung 'to lead a cow'

su-₁ (*'your; you (as Agent of non-AF verb)'*)

  su-k/in/án 'what you ate' (kan 'eat')
  su-qaḻup-en (1) 'your quarry;' (2) 'you hunt it [OF]'

su-₂ (*'leave, remove, desist from'*)

  s/m/u-kava 'remove clothes'
  ma-su-kava 'clothes are removed'
  s/m/u-kasiw 'to cut branches from tree' (kasiw 'tree, wood')
  ma-su-kungay 'it is cleaned; dirt is removed')
  ma-su-djeli 'to stop laughing (djeli 'laugh')
  ma-su-tj/m/amaku 'to stop smoking tobacco'
  s/m/u-liaw 'to remove or eat much'

ki-su- (*'remove or have removed from oneself'*)

  ki-su-kava 'take off one's own clothes'
  ki-su-aḻak 'have an abortion' (aḻak 'child')

ta- (*'in past'*) [= ka-]

  ta-sawni 'a little while ago'
  ta-ngida 'when (in past)?'

tu- : ma-tu- (*'similar to; like'*)

  ma-tu-vatu 'like a dog'
  ma-tu-vavaian 'woman-like-
  ma-tu-umaq 'similar to a house'

ma-ru- (*'be dissimilar but of same size'*)

  ma-ru-uma-umaq 'as big as a house'
  ma-ru-tiaken 'the same size as I'
  ma-ru-tsadaq 'as big as a tsadaq-fruit'

tja-₁ (*'our; we (inclusive)'*)

  tja-vatu 'our dog'
  ti tja-kama 'our father'
  tja-k/in/án 'what we ate'

tja-₂ *('more, to a greater extent; further')*

    tja-keḍi 'smaller' (keḍi 'small')
    tja-patsun '(be able to) see better' (pa-tsun 'see')
    tja-matsaqu 'be more able to' (ma-tsaqu 'be able, capable')
    tja-i- 'more in direction of' (i 'be in/at')
    tja-i-pana 'nearer to the river'
    tja-i-maza 'more over this way'
    tja-i-likuz 'more to the rear'
    tja-i-viri 'more to the left; downstream'

ki-tja- *('take along for use')*

    ki-tja-kuang 'to take along a firearm'
    ki-tja-lima 'take hold of someone's hand; lead by hand'

tjała- + -an *('most; -est')* [tja-ła- ? tj/ał/a- ?]

    tjała-keḍi(keḍi)-an 'smallest' (keḍi 'small')
    tjała-ḍikitj-an 'shortest'

tjara- *('be definitely')* [tja-ra- ? tj/ar/a- ?]

    tjara-keḍi 'is definitely small'
    tjara-izua 'there definitely is/exists'
    tjara-mangetjez 'definitely (will) come' (ma-ngetjez 'come/arrive')

tjału- *('reach/extend as far as')* [tja-łu- ? tj/ał/u- ?]

    tjału-zua 'extending to there; upon arriving there'
    tjału-pana 'as far as the river; upon arriving at the river'
    tjału-katsasavan 'upon arriving outside' (tsasaw ~ ka-tsasav-an 'outside')
    tjału-inu 'how far does it extend?; how far are you going?'

tjari- *('furthest; utmost')* [tja-ri- ? tj/ar/i- ? tja-r(e)-i- ?]

    tjari-vavaw 'heaven' (vavaw 'above')
    tjari-teku 'underworld; hell' (teku 'below')

tja-u- *('to have just done')*

    tja-u-kán 'has just eaten'
    tja-u-vaik 'has just left'
    tja-u-ledaw 'has just recently appeared'

tje- *('choose to do at/from')*

    tje-pana 'to do at the river; begin doing at river'
    tje-maza 'stay here; do from here'
    tje-djalan 'to go via the road; to find'
    tje-tjumaq 'to do/sleep at home'
    tje-pariuk 'to (eat) from (common) pot'

ka-tje- + -an *('containing')*

    ka-tje-załum-an 'containing water'

*tji- *(apparently frozen affix, used mainly in plant and animal species names)*

    tji-kaykay 'magpie' (*kaykay ?)
    tji-diuł 'hornet' (*diuł ?)
    tji-bangu 'crab (sp.)' (*bangu ?)
    tji-ngaḍuy-an 'lizard (sp.)' [= nga-ngaḍuy '(ibid.)'] (*ngaḍuy ?)

tji-a- *('be/remain at')*

    tji-a-vavaw 'be located above'
    tji-a-viri 'be on the left; downstream'

tju-₁ *('do/use separately')*

    ki-tju- 'do/use separately'
    ki-tju-vaday 'separate from someone; go own way; divorce someone'
    ki-tju-vawa 'drink one's own beer separately' (vawa 'intoxicating drink')
    ki-tju-varung 'follow one's own feelings' (varung 'heart, emotions')
    ma-tja-tju- 'begin doing separately'
    ma-tja-tju-kán 'begin eating separately/apart'
    ma-tja-tju-ki-su-kava 'each separately begins taking off his own clothes'

tju-₂ *('be/do at certain place')* [cf. tjału 'reach to certain place']

    tju-a- 'place characterized by'
    tju-a-qatsiłay 'a rocky place' (village name) (qatsiłay 'stone')
    tju-a-kasiw 'forest; many trees; much wood' (kasiw 'tree; wood')

uri *(definite future)* [cf. iru (definite future negative)]

    uri vaik 'shall leave/go'
    uri ma-qadaw-sun 'you will get sunburned' (qadaw 'sun;' -sun 'you')

m-uri- *('search for')*

    muri-vawa 'looking for beer' (vawa 'alcoholic beverage')
    muri-vawa-sun 'are you looking for wine?' (-sun 'you')
    muri-puzałuman-aken 'I'm searching for a water container' (-aken 'I')

*va- [similarly to *qa-, large number of more-than-bisyllabic stems in Paiwan beginning with va- suggest this may represent a frozen prefix]

    va-requng 'snore' (but cf. other dialects sa-requng 'snore')
    *vare- (?)
    vare-qaqułis 'pickaxe; "two-headed" snake' (cf. ma-qułis 'upside-down;'
                                            ma-qa-qułis 'head-to-tail')

*vułi- (?)

    vułi-tsikatsik 'tree (sp.)'

*vuli- (?)

    vuli-ngaław 'coil up'
    vuli-ławław 'whirlwind'

3.2.2. Conjunct Verbs. A special type of construction in Paiwan results from the combination of various of the preceding list of non-independent, derivational morphemes to form verbs from basic noun stems. This type of construction, which we may call Conjunct Verbs, involves obligatory incorporation of the Noun-complement. These derived Conjunct Verbs are noteworthy in that: (1) unlike regular full verbs they are not susceptible to focus infleciton--they are always treated as if they were Agent Focus with regard to nominal or pronominal agents; (2) the complement, most frequently goal or referent, is what is usually incorporated; and (3) the derivational 'prefixes' themselves may be separated syntactically from their obligatory noun-complement, providing alternate constructions.

ma-ka-pana '(go) via the river' (pana 'river')
vaik-aken a maka-pana 'I'm going via the river' (vaik 'go,' -aken 'I')
maka-pana-(a)ken 'I'm going via the river'
maka- tua pana-ken 'I'm going via the river' (tua '[CM≠]')
k/m/a-si-qinaɬán 'from a/the village' (ka-si- 'from,' /m/ '[AF]')
k/m/a-si- tua qinaɬán 'from the village' (tua '[CM≠]')
s/m/u-kava 'take off clothes' (kava 'clothes,' /m/ '[AF]')
s/m/u-kava-ken 'I take off my clothes'
s/m/u- tua kava-n -aken 'I take off the clothes'

With certain complex verbs derived from combination of a few of these non-independent derivational morphemes with basic verb stems, a somewhat similar phenomenon may be observed wherein the personal pronouns may be affixed either to the full, derived verb, or directly to the verbal 'prefix':

ki-vaik 'will probably leave' (vaik 'leave, go')
ki-vaik-aken 'I'll leave'
ki-ken a vaik 'I'll leave' (a '[CM=]')

3.2.3. Reduplication. Reduplication is a very common process in Paiwan, with several forms and different functions. Most common in verbs are:

(1) *reduplication of stem-initial consonant + a:*
ma- k + a - kím 'search for one another' (kím 'search,' ma-'[V prefix]')
ma- ts + a - tsiɬing 'lift each other up'
(2) *reduplication of entire stem less final consonant:*
vai-vaik 'leaving'
pa- tsu-tsún 'be looking' (pa-tsún 'look, see')
g/m/uma-gumats 'to claw' (gumats 'a claw,' /m/ '[AF]')

In the case of vowel-final stems, this type of reduplication involves repetition of the entire stem:

ma- gula-gula 'being continually interrupted'

Type (2) reduplication is also common in nouns and other stems:

liku-likuz 'the back part (as of skull)' (likuz 'behind')
liɬi-liɬing 'shade under eaves' (liɬing 'shady place'
tsau-tsau 'person(s)'
aɬu-aɬu 'sweets, candy' (aɬu 'honey')

Reduplication in verb stems usually connotes continuity or intensity; in other stems it can connote diminutiveness, affection, or plurality (dispersedness?). In stems of more than two syllables, particularly those in which the initial syllable may be suspected of being a 'frozen' affix, reduplication may involve the final two syllables only rather than the complete word:

qatjuvi-tjuvi 'worm(s)' (qatjuvi 'snake')
qaɬaḍanga-ḍangan -en 'many crabs (sp.)' (qaɬaḍangan 'crab (sp.)')

3.3. Verb Phrases and Sentence Structure. In the following discussion there is some overlap with material presented above in 3.1.2.1, but where there is repetition here it is for the sake of presenting a coherent overview of the main features of Paiwan syntax.

3.3.1. Focus in Austronesian Languages. Syntactic marking of the verb to show focus of the sentence upon a specific facet of the action or situation is characteristic of western Austronesian languages. Because focus is obligatory, and because it affects the deployment of markers for the relationships between the VP and the various NP's in the sentence, focus is sometimes interpreted as equivalent to case systems in Indo-European languages. Such an analogy distorts the function of focus in Austronesian, and at the same time so stretches the meaning of 'case' as to deprive this term of any usefulness as a rubric for particular types of overt syntactic processes.

This is not meant to imply that there is nothing to be gained for linguistic theory in considering Austronesian languages, for example, in the light of universal 'deep-case' hypotheses. It does mean that such approaches, in that they tend to be unconstrained by the data ("never mind what the language does or does not distinguish in actuality, the investigator 'knows' that at the deep-structure level it really does make the same distinctions as the investigator's language") are essentially conjectural and non-verifiable, and thus of little practical help in learning specific languages such as Paiwan.

Functionally, focus in Austronesian languages is a sort of topicalization whose selection has to do with discourse continuity. Unlike topicalization as commonly understood in other linguistic contexts, however, focus in Austronesian languages forms the basic (overt) syntactic organizational matrix for these languages.

Focus in Austronesian languages is a sentence-level, overt marking system whereby the predicate obligatorily undergoes derivational affixation to identify with one of a restricted number of possible semantic aspects of the happening (typically agent, goal, temporal/spatial specificity or location, instrument/-motivation). Strictly speaking, focus is not topicalization of one of the overt NP's of the sentence, but rather of one of the restricted number of under-lying semantic-role categories which NP's may fulfill with reference to specific verbs. This semantic-role focus is indicated by the obligatory focus inflection on the verb; the occurrence of an overt NP identifying or explicating the in-focus element is optional. If such an identificational NP does occur in the sentence, it is marked by an equational Construction Marker (CM=) or by whatever other copula-like linking device the particular language uses in strictly equa-tional sentences. Typically, all other NP's in the sentence are marked simply as being non-equational vis-a-vis the focused verb, except that the Agent NP may be indicated by the genitive/partitive marker (CMgen). In addition to being marked by non-equational devices, NP's of time and place may be preceded by preposition-like specifiers (actually conjunct verbs; see 3.2.2 above).

Focus is independent of emphasis. NP's in the sentence may be given, e.g., primary or secondary emphasis (typically by such devices as preposing), whether or not the sentence contains a so-called 'in-focus NP' which is equated to the focused verb. Conversely, if a so-called 'in-focus NP' does occur, it will not necessarily be the NP marked for emphasis.

3.2.2. <u>Focus in Paiwan</u>. All possible semantic roles for NP's in the Paiwan sentence are subsumed under only four overtly-marked categories:

- (A) Agent/Actor
- (O) Object/Goal/Patient
- (R) Referent: spatial/temporal locus, indirect object, beneficiary
- (I) Instrument/Cause/Motivation/Origin

The verb has no inflection for person, number or gender, but instead is obliga-torily inflected with an affix which specifies which particular one of these four possible semantic role categories is 'in focus' in the sentence.

A simple sentence in Paiwan consists of a verb and its focus marker. Associated NP's, including one equating to or describing the role category shown by the verb focus affix, are optional. If a NP equating to the role indicated by the verb focus inflection does occur in the sentence, it is introduced by the equational Construction Marker (CM=) <u>a</u>. The agent of non-Agent Focus (-AF) sentences is introduced by the genitive/partitive CM (CMgen) <u>nua</u>, and all other non-topic-equated NP's are marked by the non-equational CM (CM≠) <u>tua</u>. As will be seen in the following paradigm, in non-Referent Focus sentences 'locative' NP's may optionally be introduced by secondary preposition-like specifiers such as <u>i</u> '(be) at/in,' which may either co-occur with the CM≠ or result in suppletion of the CM≠. In the latter case, also including the CM≠ makes the locational NP more specific; in other words, when the CM≠ co-occurs with the 'prepositonal' particle, it is semantically comparable to the definite article in English.

'the man hunts the pigs in the mountains with a spear:'

	verb		person		pig	locative	mountain		spear
AF	q/m/aɬup	a	tsautsau	tua	vavuy	{ i tua/Ø / i tua }	gadu	tua	vuluq
	hunt (A)	*CM=*	*person*	*CM≠*	*pig*	*CM≠*	*mountain*	*CM≠*	*spear*
OF	qaɬup-en	nua	tsautsau	a	vavuy	{ i tua/Ø / i tua }	gadu	tua	vuluq
	hunt (O) CMgen			*CM=*		*CM≠*		*CM≠*	
RF	qaɬup-an	nua	tsautsau	tua	vavuy	a	gadu	tua	vuluq
	hunt (R) CMgen			*CM≠*		*CM=*		*CM≠*	
IF	si-qaɬup	nua	tsautsau	tua	vavuy	{ i tua/Ø / i tua }	gadu	a	vuluq
	hunt (I) CMgen			*CM≠*		*CM≠*		*CM=*	

Roughly 75% of Paiwan verbs are susceptible to a passive inflection, formed by the prefix <u>ma-</u>. Note that the passive sentence differs from the OF active sentence in the marking for the agent NP:

OF	tarang-en	a	tsautsau	nua	tsemas	'the spirits protect the man'
	protect(O) CM=		*person*	*CMgen*	*spirit*	

Passive:

	ma-tarang	a	tsautsau	tua	tsemas	'the man is protected by the spirits'
	P-protect CM=			*CM≠*		

3.3.3. The Equational CM (a). In that the focus affix "agrees" with the in-focus NP, that is, indicates its syntactic relationship to the verb, there is a superficial resemblance to subject-verb agreement formation in other languages. Under such an interpretation, the CM= a would be considered to be a subject marker, and the focus marker as an agreement particle. Other Paiwan data show, however, that such an analysis is untenable. First, the CM= a has a clear copulative function:

pulingaw	a	vavaian	'the woman (who) is a shaman'
shaman	*CM=*	*woman*	

ku-	kama	a	uqaɬay	'the man (who) is my father'
my	*father*	*CM=*	*man*	

Secondly, in the above and the following relative clauses the function of a as a linking particle continues to be apparent:

pa-tsun	tua	pulingaw	a	vavaian	'(one) sees the woman who is a shaman'
see (AF)	*CM≠*	*shaman*	*CM=*	*woman*	

patsun-an	a	pulingaw	a	vavaian	'(ibid., OF)'
see (OF)	*CM=*		*CM=*		

In these constructions the first CM (a in the first instance, tua in the second) is the CM for the entire phrase pulingaw a vavaian. In either instance, a links the two parts of the equation, as in the simple sentences previously given.

Relative clauses with verbals have the same construction: the entire construction is introduced by whatever CM is relevant, and the head noun is connected to the rest of the clause by a:

patsun -aken	tua	q/m/aɬup	tua	vavuy	a	tsautsau	'I see the man who hunts the pig'
see(A)	*I*	*CM≠*	*hunt(A)*	*CM≠*	*pig*	*CM= person*	

patsun -aken	tua	qaɬup-en	nua	tsautsau	a	vavuy	'I see the pig which the man is hunting'
see(a)	*I*	*CM≠*	*hunt(O)*	*CMgen*		*CM=*	

Clearly, the primary function of a is to link noun phrases which are in an equational or appositional relationship--either as simple equations, or in relative clasues or other appositional constructions. There is no justification for invoking any other, unrelated function for this particle when it marks the in-focus NP.

3.3.4. Focus Inflections and Nominals. The semantic content of the verb focus inflections, as indicating Agent, Object, Referent, or Instrument, is seen in their use with nouns. In this usage, there is a close corollary with English derivational affixes:

pu-zaɬum-an 'water container' (zaɬum 'water,' pu- 'to place')

si-kasuy 'something used as trousers' (kasuy 'trousers')

Compare these with the following examples used with verb stems:

kan-en (1) 'eat (OF),' (2) 'food'

si-kan (1) 'eat (IF),' (2) 'eating utensil'

3.3.5. Focus in Questions. Sentences in different foci are not just stylistic variations, but differ in a much more fundamental way. While such sentences may be glossed similarly in English, with perhaps a difference in emphasis to indicate different foci, focus is not just topicalization or placement of emphasis. Questions perhaps demonstrate most clearly this semantic aspect of focus.

'Yes-no' questions are free as to focus, differentiated from statements only by voice inflection. However, 'what?' questions can not be phrased in different foci for change of emphasis; *to put a question in a different focus is to ask a different question*:

AF	inu	a	k/m/an	a	tsautsau	'where is the man (who is) eating?'
	where	*CM=*	*eat(A)*	*CM=*	*person*	

OF	inu	a	kan-en	nua	tsautsau	'where is the man's food?'
			eat(O)	*CMgen*		

RF	inu	a	kan-an	nua	tsautsau	'where is the man's eating-place?'
			eat(R)			

IF	inu	a	si-kan	nua	tsautsau	'where is the man's eating-utensil?'
			eat(I)			

Note in the following that in 'what?' questions, Agent Focus is ungrammatical:

AF	*anema	a	k/m/an	a	tsautsau	*'What is the man who eats?' (ungrammatical)
OF	anema	a	kan-en	nua	tsautsau	'What is the man eating?'
RF	anema	a	kan-an	nua	tsautsau	'What (thing) is the man's eating-place?'
IF	anema	a	si-kan	nua	tsautsau	'What does the man eat with?' 'What is the man's motive for eating?'

3.3.6. <u>Focus and wh-Formation</u>. Focus as a process does have close parallels with wh-formation in Indo-European. However, focus in Austronesian does not perform the same functional role as wh-formation (or pseudo-clefting, in English): in Austronesian, focus is the basic organizational grid for all sentences, just as case is for I-E. It is failure to distinguish process from functional role that has led, in the past, investigators to confuse Austronesian focus with I-E voice; and more recently, with I-E case.

In English, pseudo-cleft sentences meet exactly the definition of focus in Austronesian *as process*: any of the NP's of the sentence--without reference to syntactic relationship to the verb--is singled out for special attention. Let us compare English and Paiwan:

AF <u>k/m/an</u>   <u>tua</u> <u>vutjuł</u> <u>a</u> <u>vatu</u>   'what ate the meat was a dog'
    eat [A]   CM≠   meat   CM= dog

OF <u>kan-en</u>   <u>nua</u> <u>vatu</u> <u>a</u> <u>vutjuł</u> 'what the dog ate was meat'
    eat [O]   CMgen   dog   CM= meat

Linguists have argued that such sentences in English cannot be simple sentences (with an element marked for preposing), but are complex sentences where the focused element is one part of an equational sentence. This is precisely the argument which can be made, on independent and language-internal grounds, for focus in Paiwan.

3.3.7. <u>Verb Classes</u>. Not all Paiwan verbs are susceptible to inflection for all four foci. Some verbs have only three, and some only two, of the forms. In such cases, *from the outside point of view of Indo-European semantics* the focus upon the 'logical' goal/object may be 'taken over' by the Referent or Instrument Focus forms. An approach from a different point of view would regard certain verbs as being basically 'goal-oriented,' 'referent-oriented,' and so on. What is important here is to remember that the following English glosses are precisely that--rough glosses, <u>not</u> necessarily exact representations of 'true' or 'universal' logic! (If this comment seems out of place here, one need only look at many recent publications on Austronesian languages to see its aptness: the pitfall of imposing outside [especially English] semantic structures upon Austronesian languages is full and overflowing.)

Examples of 'deficient' paradigms are:

AF <u>dj/m/akadjak</u> 'kick'   <u>dj/m/akadjak-aken</u> <u>tua</u> <u>vatu</u> '*I* kick the dog'
OF --
RF <u>djakadjak-an</u>   [=OF]   <u>ku-djakadjak-an</u> <u>a</u> <u>vatu</u> 'I kick *the dog*'
IF <u>si-djakadjak</u>   <u>ku-si-djakadjak</u> <u>a</u> <u>ku-kula</u> 'I kick (with) *my foot*'

Compare also:

AF <u>padjavay</u> 'work land'   <u>padjavay-aken</u> <u>tua</u> <u>quma</u> '*I* work the field'
OF --
RF <u>padjavay-an</u>   [=OF]   <u>ku-padjavay-an</u> <u>a</u> <u>quma</u> 'I work *the field*'
IF <u>si-padjavay</u>   <u>ku-si-padjavay</u> <u>a</u> <u>gung</u> 'I work (using) *oxen*'

In some verbs, both the OF and RF forms may be used to focus on the 'logical' object of the action, but with the RF form indicating that only one specific one/class from those present is involved:

AF <u>dj/m/avis</u> <u>a</u> <u>qaya-qayam</u> <u>tua</u> <u>kuka</u> 'the *bird* snatches the chicken(s)'
OF <u>djavis-en</u> <u>a</u> <u>kuka</u> <u>nua</u> <u>qaya-qayam</u> 'the bird snatches *the chicken(s)*'
RF <u>djavis-an</u> <u>a</u> <u>kuka</u> <u>nua</u> <u>qaya-qayam</u> 'the bird snatches *one of the chickens*'
IF <u>si-djavis</u> <u>tua</u> <u>kuka</u> <u>nua</u> <u>qaya-qayam</u> 'the bird snatches the chicken(s) (with) *it*' [note that no in-focus NP is given in this example, in order to demonstrate how the in-focus NP may be deleted; in this instance the deleted NP would most probably be 'its talon']

3.3.8. <u>Tense and Aspect</u>. The main tenses/aspects of Paiwan verbs are summarized on page 36. Subjunctive forms are used in subordinate or coordinate clauses, generally following the clasue-linking particle <u>sa</u>:

<u>m-alap</u> <u>sa</u> <u>kan</u> '(he) took (something), and ate (something else)'
<u>m-alap</u> <u>sa</u> <u>kan-i</u> 'took something, and ate (it)'
<u>m-alap</u> <u>sa</u> <u>kan-an</u> 'took something, and ate (there); [or, ate [with it])'

Imperatives are:

AF <u>kan-u</u> 'eat!' (very brusque command, because it is Agent-oriented)
OF <u>kan-i</u> 'eat (it)!' (less brusque than AF; often implies 'let's eat!')
RF/IF <u>kan-an</u> 'eat with it!'

These imperatives may all be rendered somewhat less peremptory by using the particle <u>pai</u> before them:

OF <u>pai</u> <u>kan-i</u> 'well, let's eat!'

TENSE/ASPECT

	Subjunctive[1]	Neutral ('Present')	Perfective[2]	Continuative ('Progressive')	Projective[3] ('Future')
FOCUS:					
Action (AF-1)	(∅)		$-m-$[4]		--
Actor (AF-2)	-u			$C_r/m/a-$[5]	
Object (OF)	-i	-en[6]	-in-	$C_r a- + -en$	-aw
Referent (RF)	-an[7]		-in- + -an	$C_r a- + -an$	-ay
Instrument (IF)		si-	s/in/i-	$si-C_r a-$	--

iru (+ Subj)	uri (+Neut)	na (+Perf), (+ Cont)
Definite negative future	Definite future	Definite past

NOTES:

(1) Subjunctive is used in subordinate clauses. AF-2, OF and RF of subjunctives are also used as imperatives. The AF-2 stresses the person receiving the command ("YOU eat!"), and is the most peremptory command, used mainly to children and close associates. The OF ("eat IT!") is more polite and is the most frequently used imperative. The RF ("eat THERE!") is relatively infrequently used.

(2) Perfective: action has been started, and may or may not still be going on.

(3) Projective: action is intended to occur.

(4) Infix -m- becomes -n- by way of dissimilation following /p, b, v/.

(5) Continuative is formed by reduplication of first consonant of verb stem and addition of a; e.g., ka-kan (from kan 'eat'), ta-tukuł (from tukuł 'precede').

(6) Suffix -en becomes -in following /u, a/.

(7) Suffix -an becomes -'n following /a/.

For negative commands, m-aya 'do not!' is used; e.g., m-aya k/m/an 'don't eat!' The command may be made less peremptory by adding sa: m-aya sa k/m/an 'don't eat (please)!'

A very common way of expressing negative commands is to place them in the impersonal 'we' form of declarative statement:

OF i-ka tja-kan-en azua 'we don't eat that; one doesn't eat that; don't eat it!'

RF i-ka tja-kan-an azua 'don't eat (there)!'

IF i-ka tja-si-kan azua 'don't eat (with that)!'

3.3.9. Phrase Order. Actual position in the sentence of the various elements (NP's) following the VP may be changed around without change of meaning as long as the same construction markers precede the same NP's:

q/m/ałup ti kama tua vavuy i gadu 'father hunts wild-pig in the mountains'

q/m/ałup tua vavuy i gadu ti kama '(ibid.)'

NP's can be preposed for added emphasis; see also discussion on page 30:

ti kama q/m/ałup tua vavuy 'FATHER hunts wild-pig'

tua vavuy q/m/ałup ti kama 'FATHER hunts WILD-PIG'

3.3.10. 'Voice,' Intent and Volition. From another perspective Paiwan may be said to have, interacting with and intersecting the Focus system, a system of voice-like affixes indicating varying degrees of intent or volition on the part of actor or patient. These Intentive affixes may be arranged on a continuum of intention/non-intention:
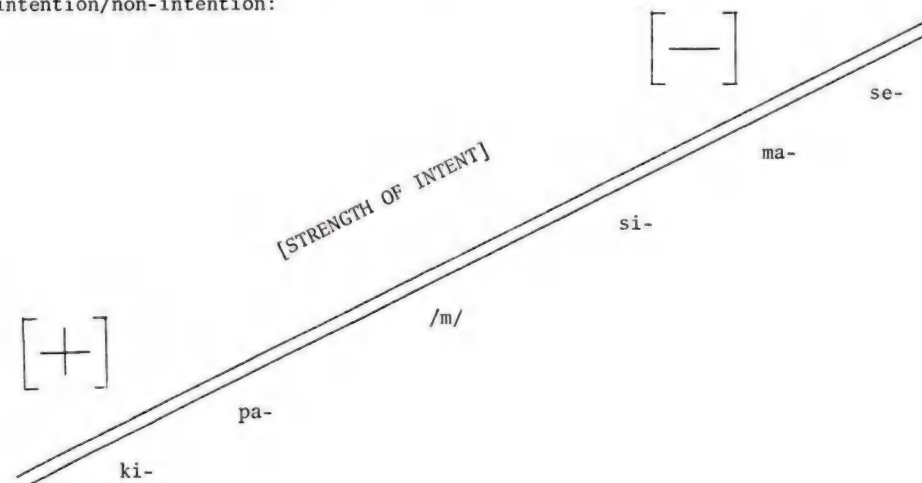
It will be seen that two of these Intentive affixes, /m/ and si-, are also part of the Focus affix system. The Intentive affixes carry roughly the following volitional associations:

ki- [INTENTIONAL] 'get/do for oneself; cause to occur to oneself'

pa- [INTENTIONAL] 'cause/do action directed away from oneself (may or may not involve a secondary agent)'

/m/ [VOLITIONALLY AMBIGUOUS] 'do/be agent of action'

si- [VOLITIONALLY AMBIGUOUS] 'be instigator/actor/beneficiary/instrument of action; do action (in one of these roles)'

ma- [NON-INTENTIONAL] 'be object/recipient of action (usually involves an outside agent); be in a state of'

se- [NON-INTENTIONAL] 'occur/experience something unexpectedly or suddenly'

Paradigmatic examples of Intentive affixes used with different types of verb stem are:

keɬang 'understand, know about'
  ki-keɬang '(undertake to) learn about'
  pa-keɬang 'cause understanding; inform someone'
  k/m/eɬang 'understand, know about'
  si-keɬang 'instigate/benefit from/be instrument of understanding'
  ma-keɬang 'be(come) known about'
  se-keɬang 'learn/be learned about unexpectedly'

langeda 'hear'
  ki-langeda 'listen to (willingly); obey'
  pa-langeda 'tell to someone; cause hearing to occur'
  l/m/angeda 'hear'
  si-langeda 'be reason/instrument of the occurrence of something being heard'
  ma-langeda 'be(come) heard; be audible'
  se-langeda 'hear/be heard unexpectedly'

qereng 'lie on back'
  pa-qereng 'lay someone on back'
  q/m/ereng 'lie on back'
  se-qereng 'fall flat on back'

adjuq 'leave behind'
  ki-adjuq 'remain behind (voluntarily)'
  pa-adjuq 'cause something to be left behind'

  /m/-adjuq 'leave something behind (intentionally)'
  ma-adjuq 'be(come) left behind'

gutsguts 'scratch'
  ki-gutsguts 'scratch oneself (to relieve itch)'
  pa-gutsguts 'be itchy; cause scratching'
  g/m/utsguts 'scratch (when itching); to weed field'
  ma-gutsguts 'be(come) scratched; ready for weeding'
  si-gutsguts 'cause scratching; be used for scratching'
  se-gutsguts 'be scratched unexpectedly'

The foregoing examples will suffice to show that it is incorrect to consider pa- to be 'the causative' affix in Paiwan. Causation in the sense of involvement of a secondary agent is far from being the most common function of this affix. Furthermore, with many verb bases the affixes /m/ and si- may also involve the occurrence of secondary agents as well, as seen above. In many verbs the pa- form indicates merely a somewhat stronger degree of deliberateness than with /m/; often, free variation appears to be involved, and even any earlier distinction of degree of deliberateness is no longer felt:

t/m/edek 'insert something into something else as adornment'
pa-tedek '(ibid.)'

t/m/utu 'suckle'
pa-tutu '(ibid.)'

k/m/ulalu 'play a flute'
pa-kulalu '(ibid.)

ki-tevela 'respond, reply to'
pa-tevela '(ibid.)'
t/m/evela '(ibid.)'

q/m/abu 'submerge something'
pa-qabu '(ibid.)'

dj/m/ivits 'reach (for), attain'
pa-djivits '(ibid.)'

In some verbs no /m/ form is found at all. Some common examples are:

pa-qetsi 'kill/cause someone to kill by cutting'

pa-vay 'give'

pa-tsun 'see; look at'

Additional examples of /m/ carrying a 'causative' meaning are:

ma-djiɬang 'be(come) rusty'

dj/m/iɬang 'cause something to become rusty'

ma-djeɬek 'be(come) fond of'

dj/m/eɬek 'cause someone to become fond of a person/object/place' (in its Nominal sense: 'object/person/place of which someone has become fond')

ma-kelu 'fall from a height'

ki-kelu 'let oneself fall/be dropped'

k/m/elu 'cause something to fall (as, fruit from tree)'

Similarly, while ma- generally marks stative verbs ('adjectives') on the one hand and the passive or potential-passive of transitive verbs on the other, there are numerous instances where ma- represents volitional gradation rather than non-active voice:

ki-silidj 'slide, scoot (as on buttocks) [willfully]'

s/m/ilidj '(ibid.) [intent unspecified]'

ma-silidj '(ibid.) [unintentionally]'

The Instrumental affix si- is most interesting in that its association with the instrument, cause, motivation, or origin of an action potentially identifies it semantically not only with the literal instrument or secondary agent, but also with either the logical agent or the logical object of specific verbs, as in the following examples:

vaik 'go, leave' [irregular; has no /m/ AF form]

si-vaik (1) IF: 'be instrument/cause origin(ator) of action'

　　　　(2) 'go on behalf of someone else'

　　　　(3) 'be (something which must be) taken along'

k/m/avuɬ 'beg'

si-kavuɬ 'cause someone to beg (be reason for/instigator of begging)'

t/m/alem 'to plant (tuber or sprout)'

si-talem '(ibid.) (= be human instrument of planting)'

q/m/azaɬ 'frighten someone (as, an apparition)'

si-qazaɬ '(ibid.); be frightful'

But:

b/n/ures 'cause liquid to spew out' [b/n/ures *b/m/ures]

si-bures 'be (liquid that is) spewed out'

ts/m/aing 'tether/tie/fasten'

si-tsaing 'be (what is) tied/tethered'

dj/m/apes 'blow with breath'

si-pa-djapes 'cause blowing to occur: (1) be reason for blowing
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(2) be object of blowing'

This Intentive affix system is very productive in Paiwan, and considerable color is given to Paiwan discourse by playing upon the emotional impact of intent/non-intent contrasts such as those between ma- and se-, /m/ and pa-.

4. Numerals. Several variant sets of numerals are used respectively for counting or enumerating different categories of things. These sets are made up of the primary cardinal numerals, plus different affixes or combinations of affixes, as will be shown below.

4.1. Primary Cardinal Numerals.

```
 1  ita              11  ta-puluq saka ita  ('one-10 plus 1')
 2  dusa             12  ta-puluq saka dusa
 3  tjelu
 4  spatj
 5  lima
 6  unem
 7  pitju
 8  alu
 9  siva
10  puluq

20  dusa (a) puluq  ('two-10s')
21  dusa puluq saka ita  ('two-10s plus 1')
30  tjelu a puluq
40  spatj a puluq

100  iday  (or, ta-iday 'one-100')
101  ta-iday saka ita
121  ta-iday saka dusa puluq saka ita
```

thousand   <u>kuzuł</u>

1,000	<u>ta-kuzuł</u>
2,000	<u>dusa kuzuł</u>
2,531	<u>dusa kuzuł saka lima iday saka tjelu a puluq saka ita</u>
10,000	<u>kudaw</u>

4.2. <u>For General Counting of Objects</u>, such as money, pieces of wood, etc., the following variants are frequently used for amounts of 10 and upwards:

10   <u>pu-si-ka-dusa puluq</u> ('next lower of same type unit as 20')

11   <u>pu-si-ka-dusa puluq saka ita</u>

20   <u>pu-si-ka-tjelu a puluq</u>

21   <u>pu-si-ka-tjelu a puluq saka ita</u>

80   <u>pu-si-ka-siva a puluq</u>

100   <u>pu-si-ka-dusa iday</u>

155   <u>pu-si-ka-dusa iday saka lima puluq saka lima</u>

4.3. <u>For Counting of Persons</u>. Numerals one to four are irregular; for other numerals, the prefix <u>małe-</u> is joined to the ordinary cardinal numerals:

1 person		<u>ma-tsidił</u>
2 persons		<u>ma-dusa</u>
3	"	<u>ma-tjelu</u>
4	"	<u>ma-spatj</u>
5	"	<u>małe-lima</u>
6	"	<u>małe-unem</u>
7	"	<u>małe-pitju</u>
8	"	<u>małe-alu</u>
9	"	<u>małe-siva</u>
10	"	<u>małe-ta-puluq</u>
11	"	<u>małe-ta-puluq saka ma-tsidił</u>
12	"	<u>małe-ta-puluq saka ma-dusa</u>
20	"	<u>małe-dusa-puluq</u>
100	"	<u>małe-ta-iday</u>

Note also that in asking "how many?," the same prefix is used:

<u>małe-pida</u> 'how many persons?'

It may also be used in the expression <u>małe-tjuruvu-ruvu</u> 'a countless number of persons.'

4.4. <u>For counting living plants and trees</u>, houses, villages, fields; and number of wounds, <u>matja-</u> is prefixed to the primary cardinal numerals:

1   <u>matja-ita</u>

2   <u>matja-dusa</u>, etc.

Note also:

<u>matja-pida</u> 'how many (trees, houses, fields, etc.)?'

<u>matja-pida a umaq</u> 'how many houses?'

4.5. <u>For frequency and duration of time</u>, the following are used. Note several irregularities:

1	<u>maka-ta-ł</u>	'one day; for one day; on one occasion'
2	<u>maka-p-usa-ł</u>	[cf. <u>dusa</u> 'two']
3	<u>maka-tjelu-ł</u>	
4	<u>maka-si-m-atj-eł</u>	[cf. <u>spatj</u> 'four']
5	<u>maka-lima-ł</u>	
6	<u>maka-nem-eł</u>	[cf. <u>unem</u> 'six']
7	<u>maka-pitju-ł</u>	
8	<u>maka-valu-ł</u>	[cf. <u>alu</u> 'eight']
9	<u>maka-siva-ł</u>	
10	<u>maka-si-m-ulu</u>	[cf. <u>puluq</u> 'ten;' note also absence of -ł]
11	<u>maka-si-m-ulu saka maka-ta-ł</u>	

Note also:

<u>maka-pida-ł</u> 'how many (days, times)?;' 'for how long?'

It should also be noted that in order to be more specific, <u>ita qadaw</u> 'one day,' <u>tjelu a qadaw</u> 'three days,' etc., may be substituted for this manner of counting.

4.6. <u>Distribution or allocation of items</u>, such as how many of something go to each person respectively, is indicated by the prefix <u>tjara-</u>:

<u>tjara-ita</u> 'each gets one (gift, animal in hunting, etc.)'

<u>pa-tjara-ita-ita</u> 'give one to each (of several persons)'

4.7. <u>Miscellaneous other prefixes used in enumeration</u> include:

<u>tjanu-</u>   'so many containers full'

<u>pu-</u>   'so many times'

<u>k/in/(e)-</u> + <u>-ł</u> 'so many times'

maka- +[reduplicated stem] + -ɬ   (W) 'so many times in succession'

ma-san(e)- + -ɬ   'so many items'

si-ka- + -ɬ   'so manieth day'

4.8. Ordinal numbers use the prefix si-ka-:

si-ka-ita   'first'

si-ka-ḏusa   'second'

si-ka-tjelu   'third,' etc.

With the prefixes nu- and ka-, indicating future and past respectively, the
ordinal numbers refer to the number of days before or after today. Note that
the present day is also counted, thus day-after-tomorrow is considered to be the
third day from now. Note also that 'one' and 'two' cannot be used in this way;
instead, the stem -tiaw is used: nu-tiaw 'tomorrow,' ka-tiaw 'yesterday.'

nu-si-ka-tjelu   'day-after-tomorrow'

ka-si-ka-tjelu   'day-before-yesterday'

nu-si-ka-spatj   'three days from now'

nu-si-ka-tjelu a qiɬas   'month-after-next'   [qiɬas 'moon, month']

ka-si-ka-tjelu a tsaviɬ   'year-before-last'   [tsaviɬ 'year']

4.9. Use of Japanese numerals is very common even among monolingual Paiwan,
especially for counting time or days.

5. Paiwan and Austronesian Phonological Studies. Paiwan is unique among the
Formosan languages in showing nearly one-to-one correspondences with putative
Proto-Austronesian (PAN) obstruent segments--all the other Formosan languages
show extensive mergers and splits in reflexes of these segments. Structurally
Paiwan, similarly to some of the other Formosan languages, is characterized by
an extreme richness of productive derivational processes. Here as in phonology,
Paiwan appears to be conservative, and thus is of great interest in comparative
studies. Paiwan's phonological transparency also suits it unusually well to
comparative use; that is, Paiwan does not exhibit the types of extremely complex
morphophonemic processes characteristic of Atayalic or Tsou, for example.

5.1. Paiwan Reflexes of PAN Phonemes. In the following chart, *t is used
to represent the PAN segment *t_1 in Dahl's (1973) notation, *c represents both
PAN *t_2 and PAN *k^y, *d equates to *d_1 and *Z, *d^y represents *d^y and *d_2, and
*d represents PAN *d_3. Dahl holds that all Formosan languages have apparently
merged PAN *t_2 and *k^y, *d_1 and *Z, and *d_2 with *d^y.

For lists of attestations of Paiwan reflexes of PAN lexemes, see Ferrell (1978).

5.2. Paiwan Dialect Variant Forms. While Paiwan is a quite homogeneous language
throughout its territory, there are marked differences of vocabulary, phonology
and morphology in different areas. These differences underline the need to
take all Paiwan dialects into account, although they are not sufficient to cause
difficulty in communication between dialects.

5.3. Phonological Irregularities and Dialect Borrowing. In Paiwan as in most
languages, unexplained irregularities do occur between dialects. For example,
/a/ = [a] and /u/ = [u] regularly across Paiwan dialect boundaries; but we find
irregular correspondences such as Kuɬaɬau ɬakay, Tjuabar ɬukay 'swing.' Similar-
ly, regularly Kuɬaɬau t = Tjuabar t, and Kuɬaɬau s = Tjuabar s; but note Kuɬaɬau
vurati, Tjuabar vurasi 'sweet potato.' An excellent example of analogous inter-
dialect irregularities is furnished by 'bat (winged mammal),' which in various
dialects is: la-lapit, la-latip, la-labits, la-latsip.

The distribution of these types of apparent irregularities among Paiwan
dialects suggests rather extensive borrowing between dialects.

5.4. Frozen Affixes. Cross-dialectal studies of Paiwan show considerable
variation in the preservation of forms occuring only with 'frozen' affixes. For
instance, *vai (PAN *bəγay) 'give' is found in Kuɬaɬau only in the affixed form
pa-vai 'give,' but in other dialects the stem vai is found to be fully productive.
Similarly, *tsekad 'middle/center' occurs in Kuɬaɬau only in the complex form
ve-tsekad-an 'middle/center' (note that ve- is not a productive affix in modern
Paiwan), but Qatsiɬay dialect has tsekad-an 'middle/center.'

In some cases all dialects agree in showing only affixed forms, as vaqu-an 'new.' In other cases all dialects may show only affixed forms, but the frozen affix may be different in each dialect; e.g., Kuɬaɬau va-requng, other dialects sa-requng 'snore.'

In all dialects a suspiciously large number of apparently irreducible stems of more than two syllables begin with a restricted number of elements. Prominent among these elements are va-, vu-, ve-, tja-, tsa-, sa-, ka-, ku-, la-, li-, qa-, qu-. Occasionally there is internal evidence for suspecting these to be frozen affixes, as in the case of 'middle/center' (above), or: qapulu 'trunk (of tree),' cf. pulu 'haft, handle (as of hoe).' But in numerous instances there is no internal evidence for treating these elements as affixes in Paiwan-- that is, they were already 'frozen' in 'Pre-Paiwan,' but not necessarily in PAN.

Other such suspected frozen affixes include notably the complex elements kali-, qaɬi-, qali-, quɬi-, quli-, vali-, vuɬi-, vuli-:

kaliɖungudunguɬ 'butterfly (gen.)'

qaɬimumudan / quɬipapuduan / qulipapunu 'crown (of head)'

qaliɖuɖu 'taro (sp.)'

quɬimamadas 'caterpillar (sp.)'

quɬimamaraw 'irridescent beetle'

quɬimatsilaw 'plant (sp.)'

quɬimezaw 'dizziness'

quɬipepe 'butterfly (sp.)'

quɬitsatsengelaw 'dragonfly'

quɬivangeraw 'rainbow'

qulivawvaw 'mosquito net'

ma-valingaɬaw '(sitting) cross-legged'

vulingaɬaw 'coil up'

vuɬitsikatsik 'tree (sp.)'

vuliɬawɬaw 'whirlwind'

Several of these putative frozen affixes are found in many Austronesian languages from other areas, and would be an interesting object of further comparative study.

A somewhat different problem arises concerning otherwise-identical forms with contrasting initial segments, such as:

zaɬum 'water'

tsaɬum 'to carry water'

ledep 'to dive into'

tedep 'inside, interior'

umaq 'house'

tjumaq 'inside of house'

kama 'father'

tjama 'father (familiar)'

Currently productive prefixes in Paiwan are all of the form CV-; for example, tje-zaɬum 'to do at the water,' ma-si-zaɬum-an 'to carry water.' However, these contrasting forms look very much like the products of earlier paradigms.

5.5. Restructuring. Various Paiwan dialects show different types of restructuring. In Kuɬaɬau, for example, the collapse of contiguous like vowels has led to the following sorts of restructuring involving reduplication:

tsaumumu 'ferret-badger' (*tsa-umu-umu)

qaususu 'fallen leaves' (*qa-usu-usu)

ɬaɬak 'child (familiar term)' (*aɬa-aɬak)

Compare also Kuɬaɬau vuvu-an 'nest' (*uvu-uvu-an) with Tjuabar ruvu, other dialects uvuvu; Kuɬaɬau kalala 'orchid,' Qatsiɬay ka-ela-ela. Another type of restructuring occurs in such instances as Makazayazaya muzi-muzip 'animal' (*?/m/uzi-?/m/uzip; cf. Kuɬaɬau q/m/uzi-quzip.

5.6. Paiwan Doublets and 'Pseudo-Doublets.' True doublets (phonologically similar forms with identical glosses, occurring within the same dialect) do occur fairly commonly in Paiwan. Examples are:

regreg / retjretj / rezrez 'to cut with a sawing motion'

mi-rengreng / v/ar/engveng 'blazing (fire)'

b/in/iqu / v/in/iqu 'banded krait'

ra-zaɬum / ra-djaɬun 'Taiwan green snake'

Extremely common in Paiwan are what I shall call 'pseudo-doublets' (phonologically similar forms with related but not identical glosses, occurring within the same dialect). Consider the following sets:

ziwziw 'wave something back and forth'

ɖiwɖiw 'signal by waving a burning brand back and forth'

kalus 'a ditch'

ma-qalu 'deeply-furrowed (terrain, or sow's belly)'

mu-labus   'escape from inside'

ma-lavut   'escape; become lost to someone'

v/al/ungavung   'pin feathers'

p/al/ungapung-an   'down, small feathers'

If some of the preceding sets of 'pseudo-doublets' may be suspected of representing phoneme split/restructuring or dialect borrowing, such sets as the following can hardly be explained away in this manner:

tsaqev   'cover, lid'

taquv   'cap (of mushroom)'

łaquv   'leaf or cloth cover (for millet beer jug)'

łakev   'to protect, ward off attack'

lakup   'loose covering (as roof, vine)'

laub   'to cover (as water covers ground)'

tsauv   'to cover (as with blanket)'

tsukev   'large, removable cover (as for cook-pan)'

The Paiwan apparently do not hesitate to invent new 'pseudo-doublets,' as evidenced by such terms as puday 'maize' (cf. paday 'rice,' paḍay 'discolored peanut kernel').

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PART 1

PAIWAN - ENGLISH DICTIONARY